

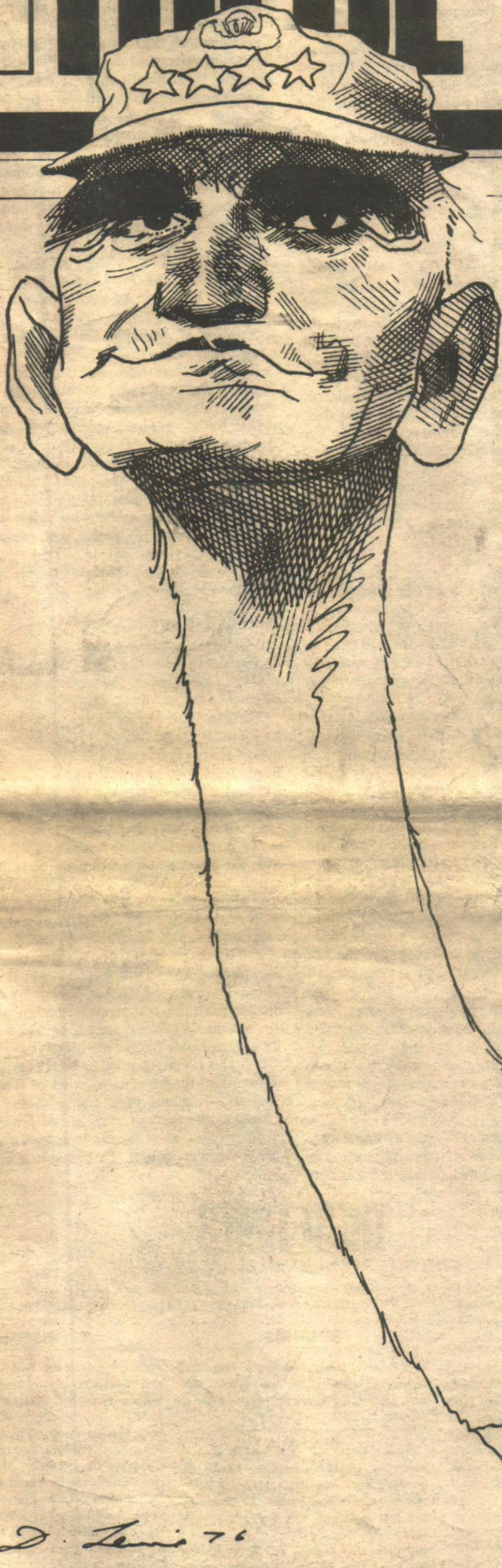
IN THESE TIMES

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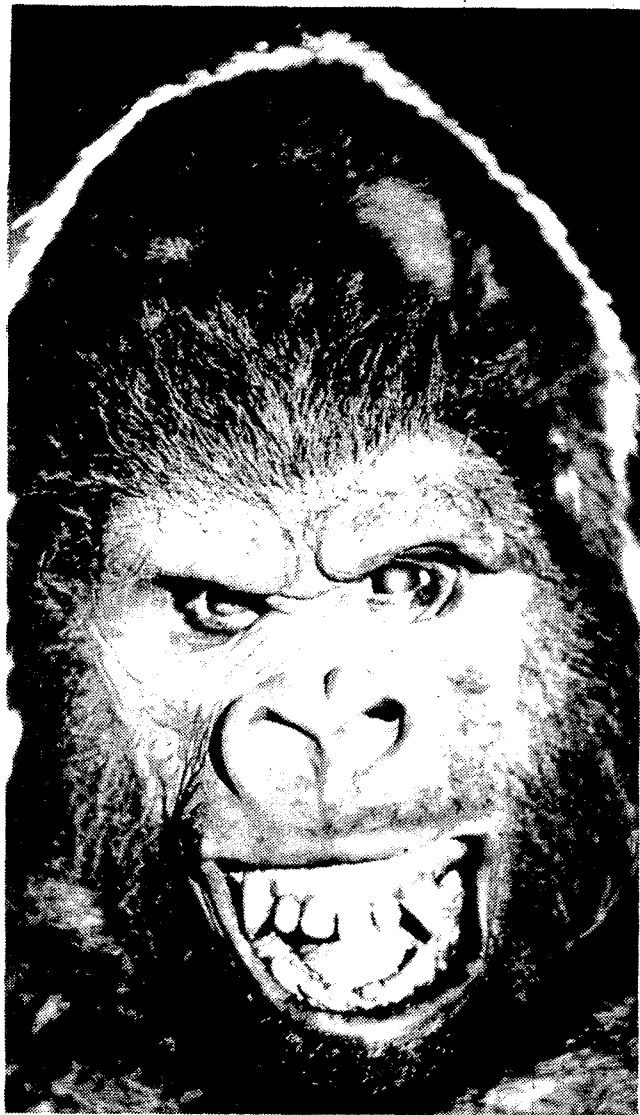
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Congress and the people are divided

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THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Monkey business in the movie business

American movie-making has always been in business, but unlike television, which from the beginning was entirely owned, controlled, and shaped by large corporations, the movies always left a little room for the artist. In the midst of all the shock, mountainous achievements like *Citizen Kane* or *Godfather II* have suddenly appeared—along with a host of smaller achievements like *Mr. Deeds Comes to Town*, *The Wild Bunch*, *Cabaret*.

But the days might be numbered for art in the movies. Always a business, it has never quite been the business that it has recently become.

Beginning in the late '60s, movies entered the era of the conglomerate, along with books, records, and Wonderbread. New names began to appear alongside the old on the screen credits: next to Paramount, there was Gulf and Western; next to United Artists was Transamerica.

In the '70s, the unpleasant effects of the new era are being felt. Fewer films are being made; more emphasis is being placed on the big-budget blockbuster; and theater-owners, actors, directors, and the unknowing public are being squeezed with an unprecedented ferocity.

Enter the conglomerates.

In the '30s, movies were already big business. Five studios exercised "vertical monopolies" over the industry, controlling everything from film laboratories to the theaters in which the films were shown. Each studio had its "stable" of actors, directors, producers, writers and technicians under long-term contract.

In anti-trust court decisions during the late '40s, the studios were ordered to divest themselves of their theater chains. "Block-booking," in which theaters signed up for a series rather than a single film was also declared illegal. Coming at the same time as the rise of television, the decisions ushered in a period of crisis for the industry from which it did not fully recover until the '70s.

During this period, the studios not only divested themselves of their theaters, but of the studios themselves. Increasingly, they became distribution and promotion outlets for independent producers. But with costs of production and marketing increasing, independent producers have had to turn to the studios for the bulk of their capital. (The Tax Reform Act of 1976, which eliminated the

tax shelter for a rich individual's movie investments, dried up a key source of the independents' funds.

In the '60s, the seven majors—Warner's, Paramount, Columbia, MGM, Twentieth Century Fox, United Artists, and Universal—were swept up in the wave of mergers that shook the financial world. Some were gobbled up by conglomerates like Transamerica; others became conglomerates by buying up other interests.

Search for stability.

Ben Bozeman, a prominent screenwriter, told me a story that illustrated the attitude of the conglomerates toward making pictures. Bozeman was talking with a Wall Street financier who had been investigating Twentieth Century Fox. The financier was impressed with the worth of Fox's film library, which could be sold to television, and with its real estate holdings, but he saw one hitch: whoever bought Fox would have to continue making pictures. "They won't permit us to destroy the industry," he complained.

From the conglomerate's standpoint, making pictures is too risky. With its captive audience taken by television and with "block booking" prohibited by law, the majors tend to live or die one picture at a time. "The business will always be fickle," a securities analyst told *Business Week*. "With each film you have to start all over again."

In spite of the enormous profits that are possible, movies are not a safe investment, and that is reflected in the stock prices of movie companies, which tend to be lower in relation to their earnings per share than the price of more "stable" corporations.

As a result, the movie companies, and the conglomerates of which they are a part, have tended to plow their profits into the acquisition of businesses that, in the words of *Business Week*, "promise more stable and predictable earnings."

For instance, Warner Communications, which used to be Warner Brothers, recently bought up the Knickerbocker Toy Company and a Coca-Cola bottling plant with its movie earnings.

Saturation booking.

They have also changed their marketing strategy. To minimize their risk and to create a seller's market in relation to the theater-owners, the majors have sharply limited their production of films and confined their release to the peak season. Where they used to make 50 films a year, they now make 12 to 20. In 1976, Hollywood producers made a record low of 210 movies.

They eschew the moderate or low-budget film in favor of high-budget potential block-busters whose success they try to ensure through "saturation booking." For instance, Columbia spent \$9 million producing *The Deep*. It then booked to open in 800 theaters across the nation and launched a \$4 million advertising campaign to get people to see it right away. "The idea is to have everyone see it before word can spread about how bad it is," one publicity man told *Business Week*.

They then demand an advance guarantee of 70 percent of the take, and 90 percent of the profits from theater-owners. In some cases, theater-owners have to submit "blind bids" before they even see the movie. In this way, United Artists was insured for its investment in the \$24 million *A Bridge Too Far* before the movie even opened in 450 theaters.

The immediate victim of the conglomerates has been American theater-owners, who have 20,000 screens to fill. The major's cut of the profits has risen from 25 to 30 to 90 percent in the last five years. With the 70 percent guarantee, theater-owners can make money with a film like *Star Wars*, but with *A Bridge Too Far*, they will lose their shirts.

Many theaters have closed under the new arrangement. Others have raised their ticket and refreshment prices and divided their theaters into multiple screening rooms in

order to save overhead expenses. Still others have abandoned American first-run films either for foreign art films or for pornography, depending on their potential clientele. Both offer owners a better deal.

One independent theater-owner that I talked to described the owner who introduced porno films: "Most of these guys were not in that policy originally," he said. "They went to it out of desperation."

A natural war.

The effect on film-makers has also been profound. In her 1974 essay on "The Future of Movies," Pauline Kael describes "the natural war in Hollywood between the businessmen and the artists." The businessmen want directors "who won't surprise them" and who will produce something that "will resemble the latest big hit." She cites Peter Yates, the director of *Bullitt* and *John and Mary*, as the studio's ideal. This year Yates brought forth *The Deep*.

According to Kael, the businessmen "want solid imitations, pictures that reek of money spent and money to come, pictures that look safe—like those Biblical epics that came rumbling off the assembly lines in the '50s."

In 1974, Kael could cite *The Towering Inferno*, *The Hindenburg*, *The Poseiden Adventure*, or *Papillon*. Today we have *The Deep*, *A Bridge Too Far*, *The Heretic (Exorcist Part II)*, *Rollercoaster*, *Airport '77*, *The Other Side of Midnight*, *Sorcerer*, *MacArthur*, and, of course, *Star Wars*.

Even outsiders have heard numerous stories of destructive corporate intervention in film-making. Arthur Penn's *Night Moves* and Nicholas Roeg's *The Man Who Fell to Earth* were both butchered at the order of the distributor, in the latter case without the director's knowledge or consent. Paramount pictures, which has the distribution rights for Bernardo Bertolucci's widely-acclaimed five-hour epic *1900*, has refused to release it unless two hours are cut, even though it was shown in Europe in two parts. Bertolucci, with the support of American film critics, has insisted in vain that "the American audience should have the right to judge the work of art as the artist conceived it."

Alternative to TV.

But while the conglomerates increase the tendency to subordinate artistic to marketing values, there is one factor that militates against the total destruction of American cinema.

The movies must continue to compete with television by showing its patrons what they cannot see on TV. This means more explicit sex and violence. It also can mean frank treatment of sexual themes that television won't touch, such as the treatment of homosexuality in the 1971 release, *Sunday Bloody Sunday*.

Given past box office success, distributors are also willing to give directors substantial artistic freedom—again with the assumption it will provide something that television cannot. After turning a gangster story into an epic of American immigrants that broke all box office records, Francis Ford Coppola won the right to make *The Conversation*, *Godfather II*, and *Apocalypse Now*.

But directors like Coppola are the exception, and should they produce a flop or two, they will be back where they started. After Richard Lester made the Beatles films, he was given free reign with *The Bed Sitting Room*. When it flopped, he was reduced to doing TV commercials for the next five years.

It is also doubtful whether Kael's solution to business domination, the banding together of film-makers to produce and distribute their own pictures, will be easy to achieve as the costs of making and promoting films rise prohibitively and as the tax law dries non-studio funds. But if there is hope in the present, it has to be in that direction.

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Gearing up for full employment

Even with its problems, Full Employment Week represents a new step for labor.

By Dan Marschall
Staff Writer

Organized labor, in a renewed effort to place full employment in the national political spotlight, is groping towards a strategy that emphasizes popular mobilization on the model of the civil rights movement as well as creating coalitions with minority, religious, community and women's organizations.

While this approach is in its early stages of formulation, it represents a significant attempt by labor to rebuild its alliance with liberal Democrats and civil rights organizations, an alliance that fractured over the Vietnam war, the recession and the presidential campaign of George McGovern.

Full Employment Week.

Both the possibilities and deficiencies of this strategic trend are evident in labor's rather haphazard preparations for Full Employment Week, Sept. 4-10, when the AFL-CIO, the United Auto Workers and other unions will be involved in public events around the country to dramatize the need for full employment and pressure elected officials to take long-delayed action.

Local coalitions in over 50 major cities are planning rallies, citizen's hearings, work demonstrations, 24-hour vigils, petition drives, press conferences, parades and other activities. Under the slogan "Jobs—Not Promises," they hope to show President Carter and Congress that their electoral constituencies are vitally concerned about the effect of unemployment on all aspects of American life.

"Full Employment Week is aimed at moving the whole discussion of unemployment back into the national agenda as a priority," says Jim Sheehan, field director for the Full Employment Action Council. "We're going after newsworthy events that will attract significant attention both to the fact of unemployment and to the problems it causes among senior citizens, young people, minorities, women, the handicapped, the mentally disturbed—all those people who have a stake in full employment."

"What we're trying to do is create a political base, a groundswell, to reintroduce the issue," adds Paul Geffert, FEAC media coordinator. "The issue is so complex, there are so many variables, that if we just get the concept before an expanded audience, that'll be a big accomplishment."

Late start and disorganization.

Attaining this goal may be hindered, however, by the late start of Full Employment Week organizing (it was only declared in July), by the lingering resentment of some groups towards the AFL-CIO's previous actions on the issue, and by political differences on key questions.

Specific activities, along with the forces primarily involved, vary widely across the nation. Religious groups are the main organizers in some 18 cities, while labor unions spearhead coalitions in others. In Chicago the Urban League and other minority-oriented groups are key, while in New York there has been a notable lack of black and Hispanic participation.

In Buffalo labor and church organizations have planned an extensive program, including full employment proclamations by area mayors, special television shows, a 24-hour vigil in Niagra Square and a rally where 100,000 petition signatures will be handed to Sen. Patrick Moynihan (D-NY).

But in Chicago no one took prime re-



"Full Production and Full Employment Under Our Democratic System of Private Enterprise" by Michael Lenson, 1944.

sponsibility for the Week's activities after the first call went out. When the director of the Chicago Urban League reluctantly agreed to chair the local coalition, the groups involved decided there was only enough time to pull together a press conference with Mayor Michael Bilandic and a two-hour public hearing featuring testimony from unemployed people.

Pre-legislative stage.

Coordinating these local activities, and serving as a national clearinghouse for information and contacts, is the task of the Full Employment Action Council, an umbrella organization founded three years ago by the AFL-CIO and headed by Coretta Scott King and Murray Finlay, president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers union.

FEAC's initial purpose was to "educate and inform" people about the need for full employment. It later got behind the "Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act," the Hawkins/Humphrey bill, which originally guaranteed a job for those "willing and able" to work. After four major revisions to placate congressional and business opposition, observers agree that the bill is dead. (ITT, June 8).

"We are in a pre-legislative stage now where the important thing is to generate a popular groundswell and local community organization focused on full employment," says Arthur Keys, chairman of the Full Employment Committee of the National Council of Churches. "We also see the legislative agenda as more than Humphrey/Hawkins, including manpower training, youth employment, workfare, the minimum wage, unemployment compensation and other public employment."

"There's enough groundwork to reintroduce the issue without getting caught in the usual hairsplitting about where you stand on Humphrey/Hawkins," says Geffert. "We tried to move on this during the Nixon administration and really got nowhere. In fact there have been a lot of compromises in the bill, so it's not something that many people feel very comfortable with."

Delicate issues.

While Hawkins/Humphrey is not the focus of the week's activities, the attitude of different groups on the bill "has become a very delicate issue," says one full employment organizer.

Some AFL-CIO officials are still pushing it, he says, and Leon Keyserling, an economist who formerly headed the Council of Economic Advisors and is very close to George Meany, has reportedly negotiated with the Carter administration to gain their support by further watering down the bill.

Keyserling also believes, other observers say, that business groups belong in the coalitions. The Chamber of Commerce is participating in Washington, D.C., activities and the Chicago coalition will extend invitations to pro-full employment businessmen because, in the words of one member, "it would not be responsible to exclude any element because we've had problems with them in the past."

In the past FEAC has been accused of having a cavalier attitude towards non-labor forces, as well as a penchant for back-room politicking rather than mobilizing labor's troops. The former head of FEAC, Art Gundershein of the ACTWU, was generally considered an incompetent administrator who "ran around bad-mouthing non-labor people on the full employment issue," according to an observer.

Women's groups were especially put off by FEAC's go-it-alone approach. When FEAC proposed a women's conference last year, for instance, members of the National Organization of Women (NOW) were prepared to raise serious questions about the compromising of Hawkins/Humphrey.

When FEAC received only lukewarm response, they cancelled the conference altogether. "A certain spirit of coalition was just not there," explains Sara Nelson, head of NOW's Labor Task Force. "We had the feeling the conference was more of a public relations push for the bill than a place to thrash things out and plan strategy. There was an exclusionary quality to FEAC's process."

New factors.

Several factors have provoked a "qualitative change" in the last six months. The AFL-CIO has apparently recognized that without popular pressure the Carter administration will not follow through on campaign commitments to combat unemployment.

The UAW is also putting more energy into full employment work. "Full employment is Irv Bluestone's baby more than anyone else's," says a union insider.

Since there is reportedly more of a parity of power in the new UAW administration, Bluestone has had more space to set the union's political priorities.

UAW activists and religious groups are credited with the administrative shakeup that ousted Gundershein as FEAC head and installed Russ Leach, a highly-respected UAW retiree who served as administrative assistant to Walter Reuther.

A leftward push is also coming from members of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, a national organization led by Michael Harrington that has initiated a separate "Democratic Agenda" conference in Washington, D.C., Nov. 12-13, to "plan for full employment through the satisfaction of human needs..."

DSOC sees full employment as a transitional demand that would move society in a progressive, socialist direction if enacted. They stress democratic national planning of the economy and a fairer distribution of wealth and income, and say that a "systematic bias in favor of human needs must replace the current systematic bias in favor of corporate profit."

Failure of old methods.

Labor's tentative steps towards a coalition building strategy are also the result of the increasingly youthful composition of American unions and the obvious failures of AFL-CIO political methods. The unexpected defeat of common site picketing last March led to a major legislative reassessment by labor leaders and has impelled them to reach out to other groups to fight for the minimum wage, repeal of the Hatch Act, and labor law reform. (ITT, Aug. 24).

"Labor's political capital, both in active rank and filers and in politicians who stood behind labor legislation, was built during the 1930s but slowly dissipated in the '50s and '60s when a new generation of workers came on the scene," says Alex Spinrad, a DSOC member in Washington, D.C., who is a co-coordinator of the greater Washington Full Employment Action Coalition.

"They've found that they had less and less solid votes, and fewer volunteer workers, to the point where labor as an institution has been threatened. That's why they've had to get into activities like Full Employment Week—to get their rank and file into motion again. The implications for the future of the labor movement are very large indeed."

NEW YORK CITY

New York mayoral race in a muddle

By David Bensman
NEW YORK CITY—Uncertainty is the key word in New York politics. With the first primary only weeks away, it's far from clear what the issues are or what the contestants are like, much less who will win.

Ever since New York City slid to the verge of default in the spring of 1975, it has been clear that diverse and numerous people did not want Abraham Beame re-elected mayor in 1977. Yet weak as the Mayor's position has been, countless aspirants for his job have failed to mount serious campaigns to unseat him.

After half a dozen would-be candidates retired from the field last spring, Gov. Hugh Carey, alarmed at the prospect of Beame's reelection, single-handedly changed the election procedures so that voting would take place in September, rather than June when it was originally scheduled.

That strategy has succeeded in that two, or possibly three candidates now have reasonable prospects of wresting the Democratic nomination from the Mayor, but it has not produced, as yet, a campaign of any redeeming entertainment or educational value. With voting scheduled for Sept. 8, only three days after Labor Day, it is unlikely that matters will become much clearer.

If none of the candidates received 40 percent of the vote in that election, as seems probable, a run-off between the top two finishers will take place a week and a half later. By that time we can expect matters to become more sharply defined.

Much to Gov. Carey's chagrin, former Congresswoman Bella Abzug is now the front-runner in the race. Like the Mayor, she is known by all New Yorkers. More important, she is well liked by the people who can be relied on to vote in primaries—the affluent, educated liberals. Current polls show her leading with more than 30 percent of the vote. If she can make a sub-

stantial dent in the minorities vote, particularly among black women, she will win election.

Closest to Abzug in the polls are the Mayor and Mario Cuomo, Gov. Carey's favorite.

Cuomo is a moderate Democrat with a reputation for caution, tact and intelligence. In a puzzling campaign he is the most enigmatic feature; most New Yorkers know almost nothing about him. He has the support of the "big money men";—the real estate, bank and insurance figures who supported Beame the last time around. Populist writers Jack Newfield and Pete Hamill acclaim Cuomo a "man of the neighborhoods," a man to bring New Yorkers together. All three newspapers are likely to endorse him. And Cuomo will doubtless get the vote of most Italian Democrats who come to the polls.

Yet with all these advantages, Cuomo's candidacy has not yet proved itself. Polls as of late July showed him getting 17 percent of the vote, far behind Abzug. Cuomo backers expect his stock to rise as his TV blitz begins, much as Carey's TV ads quickly transformed him into FDR incarnate. Skeptics believe the Governor's heavy-handed promotion of Cuomo remains an albatross around his neck. It's too soon to know who is right.

Behind Abzug, Beame and Cuomo trail four other candidates. Two are Congressmen, Ed Koch, a one-time staunch liberal, and Herman Badillo, New York City's Puerto Rican champion. Manhattan Borough president Percy Sutton hopes to stimulate a heavy black turnout for himself, and good government leader Joel Harnett is running a campaign without a future.

It is unlikely that any of the four will get much over 10 percent of the first primary vote, although Koch has a lot of money to spend on TV, which he hopes will make him a contender.

Despite the diversity of interests and constituencies represented by the candidates, campaign issues have not emerged.



Bella Abzug is the front runner in the mayoral race and as a result is keeping a low profile on the issues.

In general a right-wing tone and rhetoric has predominated, as most of the candidates have denounced muggers, looters and pornographers time and time again.

Yet on the whole, this rhetoric tells more about the way the candidates perceive the public mood than about anything else. None of the candidates is a right-wing spokesman, and none will mobilize that constituency.

Secondary campaign themes, solemnly repeated by one campaign after the next, are the need to give business a [tax] break, and to get tough with the unions.

Of course, Bella Abzug has refrained from this chorus. She has defended social service spending, promised to lead a campaign for federal aid to the cities, proposed an economic development program to stimulate blue collar employment in the city, and urged the City Council to explore the feasibility of taking over the notorious Consolidated Edison power monopoly.

Given the cloudiness of the campaign season, little of this program has reached

the public. The newspapers seem to be conspiring to make the campaign seem as lackadaisical and uninteresting as possible. What will happen is anybody's guess. But what is most likely is that Abzug will finish first in the primary, ahead of either Beame or Cuomo. At that point the campaign will heat up as the newspapers, respected public figures, civic leaders, and the unions begin a concerted campaign to defeat Bella. Cuomo could win such a contest, Beame probably would not.

And then, of course, the ghost of John Lindsay reminds us that the Democratic nominee will not necessarily become mayor. New York's Liberal party has a slot on the ballot. If Mario Cuomo runs on the liberal line against Beame or Abzug, it's possible that the Republican candidate, Roy Goodman, will have a shot at election. That does not seem likely today. But in an uncertain situation many things may change.

David Bensman is a freelance writer in New York.

Keeping the wolf out of Co-Op City

By Philip Mattera and Donna Demac
"We can't promise this community that in a world of inflation we can have a soviet in the north Bronx. We'll do anything you want us to do as long as you pick up the tab."

With these words at an open-air meeting May 24, Charlie Rosen sought to convince the 60,000 people of New York's Co-Op City, veterans of the largest tenant strike in American history, that they finally had to accept rent increases.

Eight weeks later, at the end of July, the middle-income residents of the nation's biggest housing project voted to accept a 20 percent increase in the "carrying charges" for their apartments.

This averted, or at least postponed, what was said to have been the imminent financial collapse of Co-Op City.

Rosen, who was a key figure in the 13-month strike and who, along with other strike leaders, took over the project's management as part of the settlement reached in June 1976, spoke that May evening in the shadow of a threat by state officials to foreclose on Co-Op City's \$436-million mortgage, throw out the tenant managers, and seize direct control of the project in order to raise rents and reduce services at will.

But the Riverbay Corporation, the body taken over by Rosen and the other strike leaders, also faced considerable pressure from the tenants. Many, especially among

the 30 percent who live on Social Security, were adamantly opposed to any rent increases and were disturbed by the large salaries the leaders began paying themselves.

Thus Rosen tempered his call for the rent increase with the demands that rents thereafter be "stabilized" and that the state legislature appropriate funds for the repair of the project's many construction defects.

On July 15 the state Housing Finance Agency ceased its foreclosure attempts and agreed to let the tenants defer payment for at least two years on \$25 million in debts. In exchange, tenants agreed to the 20 percent hike.

The accommodation left the tenant leaders in their ambiguous role as midwives of austerity, a situation likely to cause internal divisions. No one has yet come up with a plan for where the funds will come from for Co-Op City's rising mortgage costs.

These costs go back to the construction of the project, which was built by the United Housing Foundation—a union-sponsored body—with help from the state's Mitchell-Lama program of subsidies. Allegedly guilty of fraud and corruption, the UHF allowed costs to rise \$200 million over original estimates and then tried to pass the increase on to the tenants. Early rents of \$23 a room had been raised to \$43 by 1974. When management announced

plans in 1975 for another series of increases amounting to nearly 100 percent, the tenants went on strike.

In the course of that strike tenants achieved a unity of purpose and organization that are now legend. Along with the steering committees, there were captains for every building and representatives for every floor. Tenants worked on rent collection committees, staged demonstrations, and collectively defied court injunctions. At one point in the strike, Rosen was able to claim, "If our leadership is jailed, we have four strings of leadership to take its place."

What has been most striking about the present period of tenant management is that this network has remained largely dormant. For the sake of the cost-cutting effort decision-making has been centralized in the hands of the new Riverbay board in such a way that tenant, self-management, strictly speaking, is not what exists at Co-Op City.

The tenant leaders on the other hand, having argued during the strike that the problem at the project was poor management, now insist they must concentrate on providing more efficient management. Austerity and development, not decentralization, has been their theme.

In the manner of an impoverished Third World country the tenant managers have been looking to "foreign investment" as the solution to their economic problems.

Riverbay has been trying to persuade Con Edison to buy or lease a \$27 million power transfer station that has never been used; it has been negotiating with the federal government regarding a large energy research project at Co-Op City; and Rosen has considered approaching contractors about building bowling alleys and health clubs on the roofs of the project's large parking garages. Rosen even said he would welcome an industrial complex or an atomic energy plant on the vacant land adjacent to the project.

In the end, though, it appears likely that the problems of Co-Op City will not be solved with such schemes. The fundamental issue remains unresolved: whether the tenants or the state will pay for the growing interest costs on the project's huge mortgage.

The introduction of tenant management merely defused the immediate confrontation, transforming a powerful rent strike into a series of endless, complex negotiations among tenant leaders, state officials, and bankers. Both tenants and state officials have now made concessions, but not much more can be compromised.

Further political confrontation seems inevitable, whether in the conference rooms, in the courts, or in the buildings of Co-Op City.

Philip Mattera and Donna Demac are freelance writers in New York City.

ORGANIZATIONS

SCLC crippled by secret internal strife

By Raoul Sinclair
ATLANTA—For three hot days in mid-August the once mighty Southern Christian Leadership Conference, now little more than a shell of its former self, conducted its annual membership convention here amidst the splendor of the black-owned Atlanta Internationale hotel.

There was much discussion of "issues," accompanied by ringing calls for action and organization, but the real focus was on seeking a resolution to the internal divisions over power and policy that have crippled the organization. Another in a long series of compromises was arrived at, putting the issue off once again but leaving the future still in doubt.

SCLC, under the leadership of founder Martin Luther King Jr., was at the forefront of the civil rights and human dignity struggles through the '50s and '60s, mobilizing a massive staff and thousands of supporters in its campaigns.

Organizational decline

But with King's assassination April 4, 1968, the organization began to decline. External factors played a part—the Nixon presidency, FBI attacks (which date back to the beginnings), the shifting orientation of white supporters away from civil rights towards the Vietnam war, and, ironically, the success of the movement in opening up mobility to the upper stratum of black leadership, who began to put more of their energies into other projects.

While the external factors were important, the internal divisions may have been even more crippling, for they sapped what energy and resources there might have been to cope with the outside challenges. Indeed, since that fateful day in Memphis when King was murdered, there has been a secret war within the SCLC—over money, policy, power, influence, and support. In a constantly shifting mosaic the family and associates of King have fought with each other.

A year-long wave of sympathy donations after the murder should have greatly aided the financially limp SCLC. But checks made out to Dr. King went automatically to his widow, Coretta Scott King. And she had no sympathy for the street-pounding, boycotting, trouble-causing organization. Her goal was to construct a meditative temple to America's Ghandi, where calm seminars could be held, artworks displayed and, God help us, souvenirs sold.

Mrs. King's Martin Luther King Jr. Center for Social Change was to be the ultimate King monument. The major corporations picked up the idea and began to channel millions into this easy pastel way of dealing with racism and powerlessness.

Annual benefits in memory of King began to be held. But when Mrs. King refused to share the after-concert proceeds with SCLC, Hosea Williams of the national staff, organizer of the historic Selma march, proceeded to picket the concert, making public the rift between the King family and the organization their husband and father founded 20 years ago. It began to grow ugly.

Departures.

Williams, a barrel-chested, mutton-chopped and bearded magician with the masses of poor black folk in Atlanta, began to move into the leadership vacuum created as the weary, Ralph David Abernathy showed his troublesome qualities as leader and successor to King at SCLC.

An argument over whether to make cuts in program or overall budget led to the resignation of Andrew Young, national program director, as well as Stoney Cooks, the Saab-driving, pipe-smoking man of monumental cool who had put a professional edge on SCLC policy, and Tom Offenburger, an owl-like refugee from *Business Week* who had played the media like a violin as SCLC communications man. Young went to Congress, then to the UN ambassadorship.

A subtle change was also taking place in the crowd-pleasing rallies led by Hosea Williams. He had a chant: "Who's our leader? Ab-er-nath-ee!" Then, somewhere around 1970, spring maybe, he began leading protesting Atlanta University Center students in a new version: "Who's our leader? Ralph and Ho-Say." The two men were still close to each other for solidarity's sake, but inwardly their spirits



Hosea Williams sees himself as the true successor to Martin Luther King Jr.

were not in phase—Abernathy, the droning Buddah, and Hosea, the impish Hindu monkey god.

So Hosea too left the national office of SCLC to found the first Atlanta Chapter of the organization. Since then he has launched protests, arrests, aborted attempts to form poor people's political parties or unions, and most recently, a surrealistic "Rich Man's/Poor Man's" festival and banquet. Sponsors included virtually all of the Grand Viziers of white commerce. No one has figured that one out yet.

One more chance.

In 1973, SCLC held its 16th national convention in Indianapolis. Before the gathering Abernathy announced his resignation, saying the black middle class ("Those boojeez" he would say in private) had deserted the movement for "their piece of the rock" and the diversions of the "Always Party Time" apartments splattered willy-nilly throughout Southwest Atlanta. The man was honestly tired, and looked it. He spoke with thick, cold slowness about his future as honorific "chairman of the board."

As the sick old fish began thrashing, the younger ones moved in. Hosea Williams was one. Another was an SCLC co-founder, erudite yet gutsy C.T. Vivian. Jesse Jackson's break-away PUSH organization was also on hand; Jackson there to sug-

gest that SCLC and PUSH merge, with the "country preacher" hot at the helm.

But Abernathy had second thoughts. There was a flood of mail from across the land urging him to fight on for the Dream of his companion and cellmate, patron and friend, Martin Luther King Jr., or so he said.

Andy Young, elected to Congress the year before, was said to be unsettled by Abernathy's reversal. He was convinced SCLC would survive only with new leadership and nationwide, citywide thrusts into the ghettos. But he was not available as an alternative.

Nominations never made it to the floor. Abernathy said he wanted to give the presidency one more try and he was elected by a gleeful accolade.

Said Hosea: "I'm going to give him one year. If he doesn't straighten out the organization I am going to run against him."

Hosea moves.

The challenge lay dormant, however, until this year, when Hosea Williams made his move to capture the SCLC presidency. He has said in public and private that he sees himself as the true successor to King and that he hoped people would forget his business alliance with a profoundly anti-black but wealthy magnate, or his votes as a state representative against longer and better unemployment benefits.

Abernathy had already resigned from

the SCLC helm to wage a sad and plodding campaign for the congressional seat vacated in January by Andy Young. His showing was so poor that it wasn't even considered a major factor in the ultimate loss of John Lewis, Voter Education Project leader, to white city pol Wyche Fowler. He had wanted out of SCLC, having failed to make it a living form. Seven of its national staff of 12 were CETA workers. Local chapters received absolutely no support. There was no activity in the big cities; very little in the countryside. Only a rare press conference or two brightened up SCLC's national command post.

A nominating committee suggested five candidates for the SCLC presidency. Hosea was not among them. The interim president, Dr. Joe Lowery, 53, preacher, community relations specialist, said he didn't want to run. So the ballgame was for real. Sans Hosea and sans Lowery there wasn't much charisma in the troops who remained, even though some of them are the true heroes of our time.

The involvement of Mrs. King and the crusty, anti-union Martin Luther (Daddy) King Sr early on in the convention was seen as an omen that the King family was interested in healing the embarrassing rift, locking Hosea and his impulsive shock troops outside, thereby "cleansing" the SCLC name.

But Hosea's dreams of being King's successor pursued him like a ghost. He engineered a successful vote to have presidential nominations from the floor, not the nominating committee.

With his command of oratory and the ability to seize emotions with barbs of high rhetoric, Hosea could easily have swung a people's rebellion against the officialdom, pitting, in his words, "the streets against the suites."

Meanwhile, convention speakers assailed unemployment, called for vitality to be restored to inner cities, and warned "O! Jimmy that he'll hear the tramp, tramp, tramp of marching feet if he don't do right."

Asylum quality.

But the underlying tension was growing. It flared with a madcap appearance by Clennon King, from Albany, Ga.

King, architect of the Plains Baptist church brouhaha the Sunday before election day, stood at the SCLC convention and demanded to speak before Jesse Jackson. Delegates yelled at him to sit his ass down, but he proceeded to harangue the convention at length about "these so-called God damned white Christians."

There was now an asylum quality to the convention.

Then, Joe Lowery jumped back into the presidential race, urging unity, while Williams was subjected to immense pressure to drop out—to help save the rapidly crumbling structure of the convention and to do no further damage to the organization.

In a particularly brutal meeting Wednesday night, Aug. 17, Hosea agreed to drop his candidacy for president. But a compromise put him into the position of national program director, Andy Young's old job, a full time, salaried position. It represented freedom to mobilize, while Lowery, the new president, hypothesizes; not such a bad loss.

The audience was greatly joyed at the settlement, when it was announced to them Thursday as a *fait accompli*—Abernathy, president emeritus; Lowery, president; Williams, national director.

Williams is likely to take the ball and run for the national press now. His leadership base is slightly damaged by the hardball tactics against Lowery, but he has weathered a good deal worse. His jealousy at colleague Andy Young's success in translating the movement ideals into practical realities could well launch a national tour, speaking, fund-raising and heaping hell on Jimmy Carter.

As for SCLC now, it's been declared dead and gone for so many convention and anniversary years that prognostication goes only so far as survival, no more.

It has survived so much internal stress and torque over the years that some breathwind of some basic human ideal must be blowing through the skeleton. SCLC is still correct and righteous on the issues. Yet there must be more than that.

Raoul Sinclair is a freelance writer in the South.

HEALTH

Treatment sought for alcoholics

By Jerry Helfand

LOS ANGELES—Robert Sundance began to drink 35 years ago as a teenager on the Standing Rock Oglala Sioux Reservation in South Dakota. After serving in the South Pacific in World War II he was given an undesirable discharge from the Air Force for drinking, and began drifting from city to city.

By the early '60s he was in Los Angeles, moving back and forth from drunk tanks to skid row over 200 times, often spending twice as much time a year in jail as on the streets.

Now he's found a reason to quit drinking. He's leading what he calls a "gigantic attack on the criminal justice system, challenging the arresting and jailing of chronic alcoholics." In a lawsuit, known as the *Sundance* case, he charges that the "system is constitutionally obliged to care for these people, to build an alternative...to the stinking, crowded drunk tanks—the height of cruel and unusual punishment."

If Sundance wins his case, which could set a national legal precedent, the city and county would be forced to regard alcoholism as a disease, rather than a crime, and to provide treatment centers. Sundance also says that these treatment centers would cost less than the \$650-1,000 he estimates it now costs per arrest—to say nothing of the long-term benefits.

Named as defendants in the lawsuit are L.A. Police Chief Edward Davis (whom Sundance refers to as "Crazy Ed"), L.A. County Sheriff Peter Pitchess, and L.A. Municipal Court Presiding Judge Phillip M. Newman. Hearings began on the case on July 22 and a judgment is expected shortly.

Sundance, 50, began his "crusade" in the late '60s. He studied law in jail, reading everything he could, and for years he poured a steady stream of handwritten petitions into state and federal courts. After an equally steady stream of rejections, his case was referred to the Center for Law in the Public Interest here in 1975, which led to the current trial.

In preparing for the case researchers for the Center found that in 1974:

- not a single case of public drunkenness ever went to trial,
- public drunkenness cases accounted for 40 percent of the non-traffic misdemeanor arrests in the city of Los Angeles, and 30 percent in the county (a total of 80,000),



Robert Sundance spent 277 days in jail for drunkenness in 1974, but 125 of those were waiting for trials that never came.

with the vast majority of all those arrests involving a few thousand chronic alcoholics.

• even now, there are few public treatment facilities, and those few are rarely available.

Sundance, researchers say, spent 277 days in jail for drunkenness in 1974, but 125 of those days were spent waiting for trials that never came. On each occasion he sat in jail (for up to 30 days) unable to post the \$50 bond. Then the case was dismissed on the trial date "in the interest of justice" (rather than cluttering up court time for what is considered a high-volume, low-priority, victimless crime).

On the other hand, those convicted on a

guilty plea spent only two or three days in jail, in contrast to the weeks Sundance had to spend because of his pleas of innocence.

Gregory Houle, deputy county counsel who is presenting the county's defense, disagrees with many of Sundance's basic arguments. "I don't believe the sheriff's department's arrests for drunkenness are unconstitutional, or the law is unconstitutional." He feels the court acts properly in its procedures, and that the jail conditions are constitutional (not cruel or unusual punishment). He also disagrees with Sundance's estimates of the savings that might be accrued by treatment facilities over jailings.

Timothy Flynn, who is representing

Sundance and four other plaintiffs in the case, is optimistic. "There is no question in my mind but that the case will succeed" and have consequences for "other addictions deserving of treatment rather than warehousing," he says.

The case is having an impact. Sundance has been on the wagon for over a year and a half now, and the Los Angeles Police Department recently stopped jailing alcoholics for days on end. (Instead it is releasing them after they've had a few hours to sober up.) Attorney Jim Pearson, handling the case for the city, says the lawsuit was a factor in the decision.

Jerry Helfand is a freelance writer in Los Angeles.

Workers sterilized in chemical plant

Worried after realizing none had had any kids in a long time, the workers went to the Union and asked "What's going on?"

Last year it was the "phosvel zombies"—workers at a Texas pesticide plant who experienced a variety of nervous disorders ranging from depression and dizziness to partial paralysis. The latest horror story is at an Occidental pesticide plant in California, where it has recently been confirmed that at least 13 out of 40 men in the company's agricultural-chemical division have become sterile.

The suspected cause is a chemical known as DBCP, dibromochloropropane, a main component of many pesticides sprayed on cotton, sugar beets and potatoes.

As far back as 1961 Dow Chemical, one of two major producers of the chemical, conducted tests that showed that DBCP affected the reproductive systems of animals. In three species of animals, the drug caused degeneration of the testicles and low sperm counts.

But workers at Occidental were never informed of the dangers of the chemical they were handling, says Rafael Moure, an industrial hygienist with the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union (OCAW). "It was only after a few of them started talking to each other, and it dawned on them that it had been a long time since any of them had had kids that they started getting worried and went back to their local union and said, 'what's going on?'"

"The company denied it was a problem," Moure added. "They said workers always want to complain about something."

So the union decided to act on its own and began conducting tests. By late July, preliminary tests were complete. The results: out of 28 workers tested from the department, 12 had sperm counts of zero (a normal sperm count is 20 million per cubic centimeter of semen); three workers had borderline sperm counts; four were normal; and nine had had vasectomies.

In the face of such evidence, the company, Occidental Chemical Company, a subsidiary of Occidental Petroleum, shut down the agricultural chemical department and ordered the tests to continue.

In the meantime, the case attracted publicity, including nationwide TV coverage, and Dow Chemical began tests on

employees at its Magnolia, Ark., plant. Out of 14 workers tested there, 12 were sterile. On Aug. 11 Dow suspended sale and production of the chemical at its plant.

The next day, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) sent telegrams to about 80 chemical and fertilizer manufacturers, who formulate, produce or manufacture DBCP, warning them of its possible dangers and asking them to "take appropriate action" to protect their workers.

An estimated 3,000 workers come in contact with the chemical each year, just on the manufacturing end. And many more are involved in its agricultural use.

A representative of OSHA said that the agency has no authority to issue any stronger directives to companies until more conclusive evidence is obtained by either the Environmental Protection Agency or the National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health (a research branch of OSHA).

On Aug. 23 Dr. Sidney M. Wolfe, director of the Health Research Group in Washington, challenged this view in a letter to Douglas Costle, administrator of the EPA. Wolfe said that the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide and Rodenticide Act gave the EPA director the power to suspend the use of DBCP if he found that it was an im-

nent hazard to human health. "This test is clearly met," Wolfe claimed, citing a variety of studies.

A.F. Grospron, president of OCAW, in a letter to the Assistant Secretary of Labor for Occupational Safety and Health, also called for an immediate ban on the chemical.

DBCP is one of some 25,000 chemicals for which the government has not yet set any safe exposure level. The EPA, which is responsible under the Toxic Substances Act for regulating pesticides, never investigated the chemical. The only existing standard is a voluntary one recommended by Dow Chemical in 1961 based on its own tests.

David Kotelchuck of the Health Policy Action Center in New York and an expert on occupational health, complains that companies like Dow are often the first to do research on hazardous chemicals, setting voluntary standards for their own use. "The guidelines have about as much effect as putting signs on cans of beer saying 'don't throw away'. But if there's trouble, it gets them off the hook."

Spokesmen for both the EPA and the Labor department's occupational safety agency said Aug. 23 that they were studying the requests for an immediate ban or curtailment of the use of DBCP.

—Liberation News Service

TEACHERS

Educational crisis not on agenda at AFT meeting

By Lois Weiner

One would expect that a union that had lost 10 percent of its numbers in a single year, and faced layoffs, salary freezes and elimination of hard-won contract gains would spend most of its national convention debating strategy to regain members' jobs and stem the attacks against it.

The American Federation of Teachers is such a union, but when its 2,400 representatives met Aug. 19-19 in Boston, not a single hour was spent considering the union's devastating losses. The crisis in public education arose only in the cloak of other topics, like desegregation and a dues increase.

The '60s was a period of spectacular growth for the AFT, beginning in 1960 with the first strike and contract won by New York City teachers. Albert Shanker, then an organizer, now president of the United Federation of Teachers, Local 2, AFT's New York City chapter, is credited, correctly or not, with these accomplishments and with the union's emergence as a political force, in New York and elsewhere.

Shanker, a former socialist turned cold warrior, became AFT national president in 1974, although since the mid-'60s he had been firmly in control of all union affairs.

In the early '70s Shanker negotiated an AFT-NEA merger in New York state, bringing over 100,000 new members into the union. He assumed leadership of the merged organization, easily assimilating a streamlined apparatus into his own chain of command, making him the state's most powerful labor figure.

Nationally the union also scored exciting gains by winning one school system after another. AFT boasted it was "America's fastest growing union."

In those halcyon days the union and Shanker were courted by Democrats and Republicans, eager for a share of AFT's coffers and energetic precinct workers. Albert Shanker and teacher unionism seemed indomitable, invincible, and inseparable.

Devastating setbacks.

But in the last two years, both Shanker and teacher unionism have experienced devastating routs.

Although the UFT's 1977-78 contract gives New York teachers a \$350 cost of living raise and either a \$750 or \$1,500 longevity increase, the agreement follows, indeed was financed by, a two-year salary freeze and an erosion in educational conditions, including larger classes and loss of preparation time. The contract will bring 4,000 UFT members who have been laid off back into the schools, but over 16,000 remain unemployed.

Though the vote accepting the contract was overwhelming, New York teachers expressed their loss of confidence in Shanker's leadership by voting in record numbers against his slate of delegates for the convention.

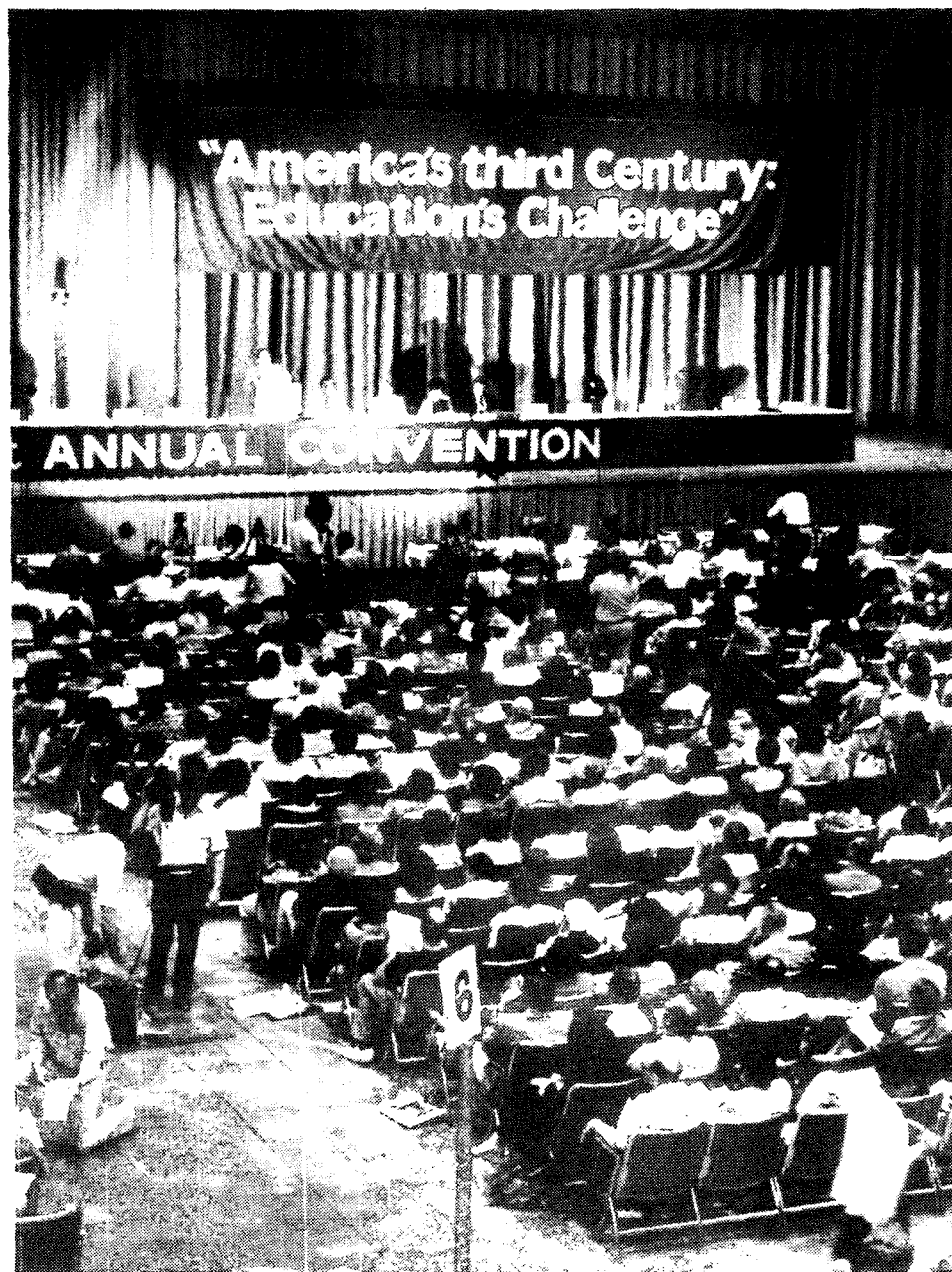
This internal ferment was not reflected in the Local 2 delegation at the convention because the UFT has a winner-take-all system that excludes minority representation. Thus every one of the UFT's 548 convention delegates was a member of Shanker's Unity Caucus, pledged to vote the caucus line when so instructed, and subject to intense social pressure when released from formal discipline.

No school district, however, has escaped cutbacks and layoffs, and today most locals must face long strikes even to maintain existing contracts. Significantly, the presidents of several key locals—Boston, New Orleans, Philadelphia, and San Francisco—could not remain for the entire convention because they were preparing for strikes.

Political action.

Politics is the lifeblood of the union, and it is politics that has dealt the union its most excruciating defeats.

Teacher unionists, like other public employees, cannot afford to be disinterested in politics because elections determine who sits across from them at the bargaining table. Because school bond measures are so rarely successful now (few locals even advocate them anymore) teachers have been forced to turn to state and national



Teacher unionists, like other public employees, cannot afford to be disinterested in politics because elections determine who sits across from them at the bargaining table.

government for the revenue to finance contract improvements.

Last year Shanker pulled the AFT convention to Carter and COPE's bosom, but with a somber warning to eschew "illusions" about politics and the unions candidates. The union geared up to elect Carter and today takes credit for his margin of victory in several states.

Carter's performance, however, has been so disappointing it could be defended only in comparison to that of Ford. Under the previous administration, Shanker informed this year's convention, the AFT had to combat vetoes, but under Carter "we had the pleasure of fighting for improvements." In reality, Carter's initial allocation for education was so parsimonious that had the AFT not succeeded through congressional lobbying in almost doubling educational aid, urban schools might have been forced to close months early, near total collapse.

Responding to the disappointment in Carter's budget, Shanker explained that the union will always be in the position of begging unresponsive candidates to serve its interests and confided that he too has had times when he doubted that the electoral strategy was correct. None-

theless, the "tremendous difference between Carter and Ford" justified continuing the present strategy.

A political strategy needed.

The AFT developed a few years ago a solution—on paper at least—to teacher unemployment and the deterioration of public education. Educare, which would be education's analog to Medicare, would give working people sabbaticals to return to school, provide universal pre-school education, and fund compensatory programs for a range of learning problems.

This year's official State of the Union report contained not a single reference to Educare. The union's resolutions for increased corporate taxes to fund Educare have also been buried.

The key to the union's passivity may well be the absence of a political strategy that could win passage of this legislative program and save the schools. What is missing is a vision of labor as a champion of poor and working people, the organizer of a movement that challenges the hegemony of America's corporate powers. A leadership with this view of labor's role would not only lobby for Educare, but would call on civil rights, parent, and wo-

men's groups, as well as other unions, to join in a real battle to give every child a decent education.

National demonstrations, petitions, even a one-day work stoppage are all now within the union's capabilities and might be supported, even welcomed by parents, especially those in urban areas. Parents have supported, at least passively, every major teacher strike in the last two years.

Shanker's ideology and political loyalties stand in the way of this kind of formulation. Shanker views labor unions as special interest groups that defend their own members and sometimes other people—when their concerns happen to coincide.

So the union seeks to grab all it can from shrinking public budgets, elbowing out other interests. Instead of turning to other public employee unions with a call for united action to increase federal aid for social services, Shanker demands that the "first money should go to education" and uses the AFT's diminishing political muscle in Albany and Washington to increase education's share of a pitiful budget.

The union's refusal to chart a new political course also leads it to oppose its real friends, those who are discontent with the status quo.

This year's convention, for instance, split very much along racial lines when it voted to support the Bakke decision and condemn racial quotas and affirmative action plans. Washington, D.C., a predominately black local, was joined by delegates from other cities that have a high proportion of black teachers, St. Louis and Chicago, for instance, in a floor fight that was potentially so explosive Shanker cautioned his caucus to avoid inflammatory statements.

This advice was an indication of Shanker's vulnerability and the fragility of his national position. Three years ago UFT delegates overwhelmingly denounced affirmative action. This year they saw that the shift of forces within the union and within the society has made the national alliance between their white, heavily Jewish base and the increasingly black urban locals delicate indeed.

Ripe for opposition.

The union is ripe for an opposition, but Shanker's opponents are as weary as his supporters, and no broad opposition grouping exists.

Of the three left-wing groups that have a presence in the AFT, the Socialist Workers party (SWP) comes closest to suggesting the missing strategy of transforming the labor movement, but its intervention was sadly skewed toward its own sectarian needs.

When the busing issue exploded two years ago the union changed its position to passive acceptance of court-ordered busing. The SWP spent most of its time selling its literature and organizing a pro-busing forum and floor fight, attracting most of the convention's black delegates.

But the caucus organizer clearly defined the SWP's opposition to connecting busing to broader problems. "We don't care what other caucus or group you're in," he announced. "All we care about is that you agree with us about busing."

The Progressive Labor party opened the convention by attempting a takeover of the podium, unfurling banners that proclaimed Shanker a Nazi. Their chant of "Shanker, you liar, we'll set your ass on fire" was greeted with disgust or annoyance and established their isolation from the convention.

The Communist party (CP) maintains a low profile in the AFT because the union leadership and a good part of its membership are thoroughly and explicitly anti-communist. The CP operates through the United Action Caucus, a remnant of anti-war days. The closest it came to influencing this year's convention occurred at its very end, when a delegate introduced a special order of business saluting Elvis Presley.

This spring's negotiations will be even tougher than last year's. Teacher unionism and public education will teeter on the brink of ruin until union activists join the union's economic and political defeats to a vision of a revitalized, politically independent labor movement.

Lois Weiner is an officer of AFT local #1423 in Hayward, Calif., and frequently writes on labor topics.

IN THE WORLD

U.S./PANAMA

Battle lines drawn on Panama Canal

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Battle lines are being drawn on the Panama Canal issue. And it promises to be a struggle which has heavy implications for Panama and one in which a U.S. victory may be more divisive than decisive.

There are in fact three "treaties" on the negotiations table: the so-called "Basic Canal Treaty," the "Neutrality Treaty" that provides for U.S. "protection" of the Canal after the year 2000, and an "Economic Agreement" package that the Carter administration promised to the Torrijos government, but that is aimed at encouraging U.S. business investment in Panama.

The Neutrality Treaty and the Economic Agreement satisfy two important U.S. sectors who initially had serious reservations about a new Canal treaty: the Pentagon and the multinational corporations. In words designed to calm the Pentagon hawks, Gen. George Brown, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, remarked that "the new treaty marks an improvement over the present situation" in terms of "secure access" to the Panama Canal. The multinationals are praising the Basic Treaty and the Economic Agreement. If the U.S. doesn't alter its colonial relationship with Panama, the U.S. companies fear general Latin American antipathy towards multinational practices and rekindled anti-Americanism.

Widespread opposition.

Opposition to the treaty is coming from the U.S. Senate, the House of Representatives, the American public and some U.S. labor unions related to Panamanian employees in the Canal Zone.

The Senate appears divided. An Aug. 21 Associated Press poll showed that 17 Senators support the treaty, 17 are opposed to it, and 62 are undecided, with four Senators unreachable. Only 34 nays are needed to block treaty passage, so approval is not yet a shoo-in.

Timing may be the real issue, since 1978 is an election year. Conservative Sen. Sparkman of Alabama has just stated that there is "no reasonable chance" the matter could come to the floor before Congress' scheduled October adjournment.

The House of Representatives is in an even more negative situation. A systematic poll taken in November indicated that 156 favored negotiations on the Canal, while 184 were opposed. A number who felt the issue should be debated were in fact against any actual treaty. There are even more representatives uncommitted or undecided.

Ordinarily the House would not discuss a foreign treaty unless tax appropriations or the disposal of American property were involved. The present treaty has been framed to avoid tax appropriations, and discussions are presently underway to determine whether the issue of American property justifies House discussion and approval. Rabid foes of the treaty want it discussed, and Carter is expected to have to bend to their wishes.

The American public appears to be fairly solidly opposed, though some of this opposition can probably be swung around through careful political education on the issues. An August poll taken by the conservative Opinion Research Corporation of Princeton claimed that 78 percent of the American public was opposed to the new treaty. Sen. Adlai Stevenson (D-IL), who supports the treaty, claims "to have received 5,600 letters opposed to five in favor since Jan. 1st."

Certain labor unions are also conditionally opposing the treaty on behalf of their Panamanian constituents within the Canal Zone. The American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees while sup-



Senators Strom Thurmond (R-SC) and Jesse Helms (R-NC) appeared recently on *Meet the Press*.

Helms vowed a filibuster when the bill came up.

And Thurmond said, "I don't see how we can let American propoerty—or the rights of Americans—go down the drain."

porting Panama's right to a new treaty, oppose what they feel are very inadequate guarantees for Panamanians employed in Canal Zone, many of whom will lose their jobs the moment the treaty passes, and who have no social security benefits coming from the Panamanian government.

There appears to be a lot of indecision on the Canal issue even from treaty-backers. And conservatives like Sen. Hayakawa of California and former Sen. Buckley of New York, contrary to recent indications, have not swung their support to the treaties. Hayakawa told reporters, that "anyone who thinks he knows how I'm going to vote on the treaty is jumping to conclusions."

Multinational support.

The multinational corporations and banks with offices in Panama will try to counter this opposition. They have endorsed the Carter administration's approach to a new treaty. Henry Geyelin, president of the Council of the Americas—which is dedicated to "understanding and acceptance of the role of private enterprise" in the hemisphere—said in a speech July 27: "A responsible new arrangement designed in conjunction with Panama will signify to Latin American nations a new level of U.S. political maturity and sincere intentions for cooperation with all nations."

Panama has gradually become a "golden finance platform" for the MNCs. In Colon's free port on the Caribbean and in Panama City's, where some 80 foreign banks reside, intricate and almost unen-

cumbered financial transactions take place daily through the approximately 50,000 "paper" multinational corporations located in the Isthmus. The new treaties promise to overcome the opposition to colonial presence in the Canal Zone, while main-

taining a U.S. presence in Panama for at least another 23 years.

Philip E. Wheaton is co-director of the Ecumenical Program for Interamerican Communication & Action in Washington, D.C.

BASIC CANAL TREATY

Turns over 2/3 of the present Canal Zone to Panama immediately in terms of territorial jurisdiction and within three years in terms of criminal responsibility. The other 1/3 remains in U.S. military hands. A joint Panamanian/North American "Canal Commission" will run the Canal until Dec. 31, 1999, replacing the Panama Canal Co. For this, Panama can raise its toll rates by 30¢ per ton of maritime traffic, which is expected to produce between \$50 and \$70 million dollars annual additional revenue for Panama.

NEUTRALITY TREATY

Provides for "permanent neutrality" of the Canal, which means that the U.S. will have the "unilateral right to move to protect the Canal at all times" if any emergency develops. There are to be "no limits on the ways to be employed (by the U.S.) so that neutrality can be maintained." This amounts to unconditional perpetuity rights for the Pentagon as it is dependent upon judgments made by the President of the U.S.

ECONOMIC AGREEMENT

IS AN unofficial additional economic package that the U.S. government "promises to see come through." They do not involve tax-payer grants but rather private guarantees and public loans: \$200 million from the Import-Export Bank for U.S. business purchases and investment; \$75 million from A.I.D. for housing construction; and \$20 million from the Overseas Private Investment Corporation as risk insurance for U.S. businesses investing in Panama for the first time. Its purpose is to "guarantee Panamanian development and cooperation with the U.S."

AFRICA

American press runs roughshod over Mozambique

By Allen Isaacman

On June 23rd the House agreed by a voice vote to prohibit any appropriated funds from going "directly or indirectly" to Mozambique (or, for that matter, Angola). The amendment advanced by Illinois Republican Philip Crane, a long-time supporter of Portuguese colonialism and the Rhodesian and South African regimes, represents the culmination of an intensive campaign waged against Mozambique in the U.S. by right-wing forces and their allies from Salisbury and Pretoria.

The efforts have been aided immeasurably by critical accounts of the newly independent country that have appeared in the most influential establishment newspapers. Among the newspapers that have repeatedly depicted the Mozambican government as a totalitarian and racist regime slavishly tied to the Soviet Union are the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Christian Science Monitor* and the *Los Angeles Times*—the very newspapers that influence policymakers and define public opinion.

The effect of this propaganda campaign is to redefine the legitimate struggle for majority rule and self-determination in Southern Africa in global Cold War terms—a myopic view explicitly challenged by Secretary of State Vance in his speech before the NAACP on July 1, 1977. The white minority governments are presented as the defenders of Western interests against communist-backed terrorists. Mozambique, "pawn" of the Soviet Union, becomes the principal culprit.

Claims of repression.

The dominant theme of most accounts of Mozambique is the widespread existence of political repression. As a reporter for the *Philadelphia Inquirer* commented, "Talk of human dignity in Mozambique will get you a rifle butt upside the head and an all-expense vacation in that rather nasty Marxist nation's reeducation camps." Dial Torgenson of the *Los Angeles Times*, who has extensively written about the breakdown of Mozambican law and the capricious nature of the newly-imposed regime, reiterated this theme. "Technically, the legal system left over from the days of Portuguese rule still applies. But on the street level, what applies is what the Portuguese called Kalashnikov's law—so named for the Russian-designed weapons carried by soldiers who man the roadblocks and make arrests" (Feb. 11, 1976).

The existing reeducation centers, dubbed "Concentration Camps" by the Western press, have been given special attention. Unverified reports published in a variety of American papers note that as many as 75,000 have been incarcerated. An article in the *Christian Science Monitor* noted that "the refugees' stories tell of the regime's increasing ferocity, where summary arrests for anything from being late to work to not carrying the correct identification can send a person to prison or to labor camps" (May 7, 1976). This "Siberian" image was popularized in *Newsweek*, which claimed that FRELIMO compensated for its lack of leadership and popular support by packing off "thousands of Mozambicans to reeducation centers where Machel's brand of Marxism is taught with a heavy and sometimes brutal hand" (May 3, 1976).

Linked to these unsubstantiated charges of massive political repression are claims that it is Europeans who are particularly vulnerable and are arrested "in numbers grossly disproportionate to their percentage of the population" (*Washington Post*, Jan. 1, 1976). While acknowledging that

During the Vietnam war, many readers began to doubt the veracity of such august publications as the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. But during Watergate, they got back their reputations for honest journalism. But in an analysis of press coverage of Mozambique, Allen Isaacman, a professor of Afro-American history at the U. of Minnesota shows them up to their old tricks.

such a racist policy is explicitly forbidden in the Mozambican constitution and is inconsistent with FRELIMO pronouncements since independence, Torgenson of the *Los Angeles Times* nevertheless asserts that President Machel "seeking support from the African majority...now attacks whites, Asians, and mixed-blood Africans in his speeches and allows them to be harassed and arrested seemingly at will (Jan. 1, 1976). For those who might be fooled by the presence of Europeans at the highest levels of government, including three ministers, Tom Lambert of the *Washington Post* notes that it is common knowledge that "the white ministers are ultra-leftists with no particular affection for their race" (Sept. 24, 1975). The ultimate result of this anti-white campaign, it is asserted, has been the mass exodus of Portuguese from Mozambique.

Pawn of USSR?

The outflow of whites is also advanced as the primary reason for Mozambique's faltering economy. Rarely do Western reports acknowledge that the underlying causes of this poverty are deeply rooted in 400 years of colonial exploitation. Instead, reverse racism and socialism become the culprits. In the latter vein John Burns of the *New York Times* noted, "Many of the troubles and the economic deterioration that underlies and compounds them can be traced to the doctrinaire policies that Mr. Machel introduced shortly after taking office" (July 25, 1976).

The reputed repression, racism and economic turmoil has, allegedly, created a groundswell of opposition to FRELIMO. Periodic, but unconfirmed reports that Tanzanian and Somali troops were being used to put down internal opposition in northern Mozambique have appeared in the American press. Recently the *New York Times* reproduced extractions of a staged interview at a Salisbury prison in which several Mozambican dissidents claimed that Rhodesian forces "are welcomed as liberation from the rule of that country's Marxist government" (June 9, 1977).



John Burns, New York Times reporter.

The press continually depicts Mozambique as a "pawn" of either the Soviet Union or China. Robin Wright in a typical passage in the *Washington Post* describes how "the Sino-Soviet race for influence in Africa has taken a dramatic turn with the Soviets gaining a new edge in Mozambique, a vital strategic base for operations in eastern and southern Africa."

The Soviet presence, according to the *Washington Star*, includes air and naval bases along the strategic Indian Ocean coastline (Oct. 13, 1976), a fact with which Western diplomats who visited the area took issue. Unverified reports of several thousand Cuban troops in Mozambique, which periodically surfaced in the Western press, have also been discredited.

Dateline Johannesburg.

Notwithstanding the detail and certainty of most of the scathing attacks in the mass media, rarely have the writers visited Mozambique. Instead, the overwhelming majority of the news items and analyses are datelined from South Africa, Rhodesia, Kenya and Portugal, and the few writers who have visited Mozambique have generally spent only a limited time in the country, primarily in Maputo, the capital. Moreover, their inability to speak Portuguese undoubtedly biases their sources.

Writing primarily from abroad, American journalists have both accepted uncritically and reproduced rumors, second-hand information, and unverified claims from sources that were necessarily suspect.

The acceptance of dubious sources by John Burns of the *New York Times* is particularly revealing. He freely admitted that the accounts of terror and instability that he reported were derived from interviews with alienated businessmen, departing Portuguese settlers and defectors from FRELIMO, without even mentioning the obvious fact that his sources hardly represented an unbiased sample. Moreover, when he finally visited Mozambique he was forced to acknowledge that "a visitor's assessment is not so dire. For all the problems of daily life, the government seems popular" (Dec. 2, 1976).

In addition to relying upon tales from

refugees and dissidents, Western newspapers often reproduced official and semi-official accounts disseminated by the Rhodesian and South African governments. Thus, repeated assertions in the American press that several thousand Cubans backed by sophisticated weapons are in Mozambique can be traced to South African intelligence reports as can accounts of deep divisions within FRELIMO. To this date seemingly knowledgeable reports such as John Burns' and Robin Wright's continue to subscribe to the Rhodesian government's position that the attacks on the Nyazonia refugee camps were actually a raid on a guerilla base despite UN Refugee Commission reports to the contrary. Sometimes the fabrications reproduced in the American press are filtered through a variety of third parties. Thus, the *Washington Star* carried the story of Soviet naval and air bases being constructed that originally appeared in a West German newspaper but actually came from Johannesburg (Oct. 13, 1976).

Other side.

Burns and others have argued that it is extremely difficult to get a visa for Mozambique and therefore journalists must rely on secondary sources, which he acknowledges to be less than satisfactory. The fact of the matter is, however, that there have been a number of Western correspondents who collectively have spent an appreciable amount of time in Mozambique. Although they have written extensive and informed accounts, these have been largely overlooked by the American press.

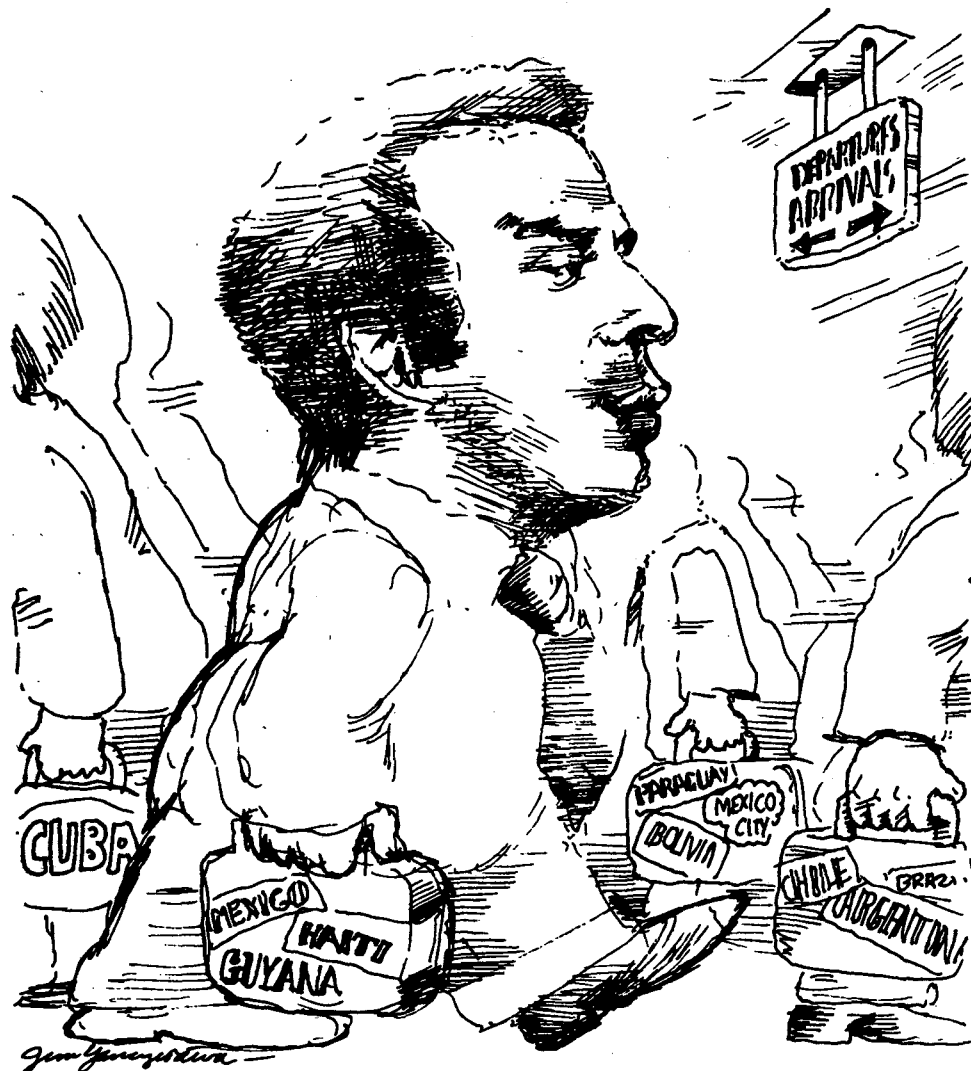
Among the most prominent of this group are Renee Lefort (*Le Monde*), Tony Avirgnon (AP, UPI, and BBC), David Martin (*Manchester Guardian*), Nicholas Ashford (*The Times*) and, most recently, David Ottaway and Raymond Wilkerson (*Washington Post*). Their reports, while acknowledging difficulties, especially in the economic sphere, clearly belie the popular stereotypes of chaos and repression.

Consider briefly the related issues of political repression, reverse racism and the ex-

Continued on page 19.

LATIN AMERICA

U.S. rights campaign bears mixed fruit



Young keeps U.S. silence on Haiti's human rights record

Before he left on his 12-day tour of the Caribbean and Central America, UN ambassador Andrew Young met with 30 Haitian picketers at the U.S. Mission to the UN in New York. Young said he wanted to see conditions in Haiti for himself.

"I am impressed by your concern for your country," he told the group of political exiles. Young promised not to avoid difficult questions when he met with officials of the Duvalier regime, and left open the option of another meeting with the group after his return.

Arriving in Haiti on Aug. 15, Young was circumspect in answering reporters' questions. Asked about political freedoms in Haiti, Young responded: "Let me say that what we see as our affirmation of human rights in the hemisphere is that governments such as Ecuador, even Chile, are moving from military dictatorship and talking in terms of free elections."

Haiti is ruled by 26-year-old Jean Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier, who inherited the presidency in 1971 after the death of his father, Francois. In April,

Duvalier reaffirmed his status as "president for life."

Haiti has been notorious for its human rights violations. Amnesty International reports that Haiti has the world's highest mortality rate among prisoners. Ten percent die in the first days of detention and 80 percent last less than two years.

In the last few years, the "economic revolution" that Duvalier claimed he would initiate has become a battle for survival. The country faces drought, crop failures, food shortages, inadequate drinking water, severe malnutrition, and malaria. Foreign investors, thought to be Haiti's salvation, have begun to pull out.

Last year, the U.S. extended Haiti \$23 million in assistance, which, with emergency food assistance, is expected to rise to \$34 million this year.

U.S. officials have been unexplainably reluctant to include Haiti in their list of human rights violators. From all reports, Young did not depart from this practice during his visit.

—Greg Guma

South American countries promise return to democracy

LIMA, PERU—Hopes for democracy in South America revived with the recent announcements by the military governments of Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador and Chile of a proposed gradual return to civilian rule. But many Latin Americans greeted the announcements cautiously.

"It's like artificial respiration; the news always seems to come when the economy is dying," said a skeptical Peruvian banker who doubted that elections would take place according to the timetable set by Peru's military rulers.

Having survived a general strike last month and facing growing popular unrest caused by rising prices and a clamp on salaries, Gen. Francisco Morales Bermudez has promised general elections in Peru for 1980, to be preceded by a constitutional assembly to be elected next year.

1980 was also the target for presidential

elections set by Bolivian President Hugo Banzer, although the general failed to lift his 1974 ban outlawing political parties and proscribing all political activity.

"The main pressure for democratization is coming from President Carter's human rights policy," said Bolivian journalist Luis del Rio. "Businessmen here don't want the U.S. to isolate Bolivia like it is doing to Chile."

The best prospects for civilian rule appear to be in Ecuador where the leader of the military junta, Vice-Admiral Alfredo Poveda Barbano, proposed that the Armed Forces turn the government over to civilian rule next year.

The dimmest prospects are in Chile where the military junta's timetable does not call for presidential elections until 1991.

Pacific News Service

U.S. visit prompts Chile to change name of its secret police

Terrence Todman, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, and Allard Lowenstein, deputy ambassador at the United Nations, paid consecutive whirlwind visits to Chile earlier this month. While the Chilean government circles grumbled over meetings with ex-President Eduardo Frei, they attempted to quiet American human rights pressure by changing the name of the Dina, the Chilean secret police, to the Central Nacional de Informaciones.

Unfortunately, there is little indication that the Chileans intend to change more than the name of the Dina.

Extra-official activities.

Lowenstein flew in on Aug. 10, talked to Cardinal Raul Silva Henriquez, ex-President Eduardo Frei, *El Mercurio* and two separate groups of student leaders—ten from the Catholic university and another 20 from national student organizations, who roundly denounced the first group as unrepresentative.

The chief topics of his conversations with *El Mercurio* were: the problem of disappeared prisoners; the banning of the Christian Democrat party; the effects of the economic policy on the country's political development; general continental problems; and how the U.S. could help Chile's development.

As Lowenstein left on Aug. 11, Todman arrived. He in turn talked to the Cardinal and Frei—his visit to the latter's office in downtown Santiago attracted a great deal of public attention, and contributed considerably, no doubt, to the popular expectation that the Christian Democrats would sooner rather than later be incorporated into a reshuffled civilian-military government.

These extra-official activities caused considerable irritation in the government. There was perhaps some attempt to camouflage Todman's call on Frei by arranging for him to pay calls on the other two ex-presidents, Jorge Alessandri and Gabriel Gonzalez Videla.

His official calls were uneventful. He saw General Herman Brady, the defense minister, who is one of the favorite names (along with the ex-Christian Democrat senator Juan de Dios Carmona) to replace President Augusto Pinochet in the event of a reshuffle. Brady has the reputation of being the CIA's man in the armed forces, which may explain why previous attempts to dislodge him have failed.

Todman also met the head of the supreme court, the ministers of justice, labor and the interior, the economic team and President Pinochet himself, in company with the foreign minister and the ambassador to Washington, Jorge Cauas.

Human rights.

The gist of Todman's message to the government was that it must be seen to be taking human rights issues seriously, if it wants to restore relations with Washington to a friendlier footing, which it does. The government knows that the State Department is divided on the human rights issue, and it also knows that Todman is more on its side than, say, Lowenstein or the White House aides working on Latin America.

When Pinochet sent an advance copy of his speech announcing the timetable for a return to democracy at the beginning of July, Todman was among those who wanted to give it an uncritical welcome. (Pinochet promised elections by 1991.)

The human rights hardliners, on the other hand, wanted to criticize the continuing state of siege, the activities of the secret police, Dina, and the continuing disappearance of prisoners, as well as the vague and protracted nature of the plans for elec-

U.S. officials anger government by meeting opponents.

tions. Todman was careful to dissociate himself from these criticisms when they were voiced at the beginning of August, and nothing was said publicly about them during his visit.

He had the satisfaction, in return, of listening to the announcement, made on Aug. 12, that the Dina had been dissolved, as of Aug. 6. It will be replaced by the Central Nacional de Informaciones (CNI), which is to be a specialized military body responsible for gathering and processing the information in all fields necessary for government decision-making, especially in relation to national security affairs. It will be responsible directly to the president (not the ministry of defense), will be headed by a general and will recruit personnel from the armed forces.

Its director will decide its organization, institutional structure and duties. It will coordinate the activities of the other military intelligence services. In effect, its difference from the old Dina is scarcely visible to the naked eye.

The continuing hegemony of Pinochet's intelligence service, Dina or CNI, over the others seem to indicate that the President remains firmly in control of his colleagues, and that any ideas there might have been, in Santiago or Washington, of a change to a less obstinate head of state will have to be shelved for the time being.

The change of name, from Dina to CNI, is probably a fair sample of the kind of concessions Pinochet is prepared to make, and his attitude is fairly summed up by *El Mercurio*'s Sunday editorial: the human rights campaign is directly comparable to the Alliance for Progress a decade ago, when Chile was persuaded to make structural reforms in exchange for financial concessions. The result, claimed *El Mercurio*, was the triumph of the marxists in 1970 and the chaos which ensued; the victory of Sept. 11 must not be endangered by pressures to return to the past.

—Adapted from *Latin America Political Report*

Editor's Note: Augusto Pinochet is expected to attend the Panama Canal treaty signing in Washington Sept. 7. He was invited by Organization of American States Secretary General, Alejandro Orfila.

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The Future



Members of the Clamshell Alliance, demanding a place on the crew.

Who is going to be the captain of "Spaceship Earth?"

THE UNFINISHED AGENDA:
The Citizen's Policy Guide to
Environmental Issues
By the Environmental Agenda
Task Force
Thomas Y. Crowell Co., paper,
\$3.95

"As must be clear by now," say the authors of *The Unfinished Agenda* in their final chapter, "this book is about a world transition from abundance to scarcity, a transition that is already under-way."

Indeed, this is what the book is about, but it isn't the whole story. Although only occasionally articulated explicitly, *The Unfinished Agenda* is also about the assumption that real solutions to the many threats to human and

animal life from environmental deterioration will require a quantum jump in centralized power and social control, particularly in the U.S.

In preparation for the book, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund asked front-rank figures of the ecology movement to outline what they thought were the most important environmental issues and problems facing the U.S. and the rest of the world. After these briefs were circulated among a second rank of environmental activists and experts, they were edited into the series of recommendations that form the basic text of *The Unfinished Agenda*.

Of the book's 75 major recommendations, 21 call explicitly for greater control—of everything from recombinant DNA research to auto speed limits and cigarette advertising. Eight more recommendations call for improved data-collection and monitoring systems aimed at producing fuller control in the long run. By contrast, only 25 recommendations are devoted specifically to matters of abundance and scarcity.

Moreover, practically all the new controls will be of the sort that require complex bureaucratic structures to administer, and considerable expertise even to understand. That is, they will be the kind that are least accessible to a lay citizenry and its popular representatives.

These implications, similarly unrecognized, are aptly evoked in the image of "Spaceship Earth," used in the book as a key metaphor. The spaceship motif is usually presented, and accurately enough, as a sign of the close and inescapable interrelatedness of the various peoples and species of the planet.

But there is another side to this concept: on any such complex means of transport, once underway the "passengers" are strictly along for the ride; their ac-

commodations, direction, speed, route—and in case of emergency, their fate—are all determined by a crew of specialists organized in a strict hierarchical fashion.

To judge from this book, some space age equivalent of this basically military model is almost certain to be required for the achievement of the goals set forth in its pages.

If this is an unsettling prospect—and it is—that is not because the authors are part of some eco-conspiracy to take over the world. To the contrary, when they do get around to considering, all too briefly, the implications for our political future of their demands, they are clearly discomfited and fall back on vague calls for a "full and active national discussion... on how the nation can best develop a long range planning capability."

That is, they all but admit they don't know how to fit the needs they describe for what adds up to total social management into a political system set up specifically to divide and limit power. And they are right to be worried, because the burden of their text is that it can't be done.

The worst part about contemplating this management imperative is that it may well be all but inescapable. As the book shows in terse but cumulative detail, there are *already* so many interrelated global threats to life loose in the water, land, air and even in the gene pool, that there does not seem to be any turning back from efforts to grapple with them on a comparable scale. Our "Spaceship Earth" must have a crew that knows what it is doing and has full command of the vehicle if it is to get through the rough sailing ahead. And can such a crew be selected by elections, especially under emergency conditions after blastoff?

If the level of concern about these

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THE FUTURE

issues evidenced in the book is only a modest one, that may be because many of the authors are able to assume that when the crew of the spaceship, especially its staff officers, are selected, they will be among them. Indeed, some already have been. Among the participants are former secretaries of the Army and Defense, and representatives of some of the nation's largest corporations and private fortunes.

These people believe in the beneficence of their values and good intentions, and their general expertise is intimidating in its range and articulateness. They and their proteges would seem to be the logical candidates to take over the controls as our vessel enters its dangerous passage.

But what of the rest of us, the majority who are and will remain plain passengers? Can we have full confidence in the values and intentions of these aspiring pilots? Should we?

In many areas covered in the book, probably most, the answer would seem to be a qualified yes; at least, we would be safer in their hands than we have been under the guidance of the current crew. But in one key area the answer is a resounding nay, and a negative that has disturbing implications for the rest of the discussion.

The population bomb.

That area is population, and appropriately the authors put it at the front of their "agenda," as Chapter One. In doing so, however, they not only buy completely the mythology of the "Population Bomb," they even recommend that the U.S. and Canada form an OPEC-like grain cartel that would use the threat of withholding food exports to extort compliance by poor countries with population control schemes.

There is not space here to treat this issue in detail. But three objections to the cartel proposal arise at once and with urgency: first, it wouldn't work; second, it would be an almost sure recipe for World War Three; and third, it would be immoral.

But in the context of the book, what is most disturbing is the way the recommendations were arrived at. The authors put together completely contradictory pieces of information and neglect the fact that they do not support their conclusion.

For instance, consider the following statements about data: "Census, birth, and death statistics around the world are so uncertain that the human population can only be estimated with 10 percent accuracy. World population has been growing exponentially with a doubling time estimated to be between 35 and 40 years."

Note that in the first sentence there are no fewer than five qualifying terms, indicating how risky it is to make dogmatic assertions, and especially projections, about population numbers. Yet the authors go right on to declare flatly and without qualification what world population has been doing and what it will do for the next 50 years, as a basis for their proposal for dealing with the "crisis" thus invented.

Consumption the problem.

Similarly, the authors hear, yet do not hear, the complaints of the would-be clients of this program: "An active, sincere effort

to stabilize U.S. population could increase the credibility of our aid to family programs abroad. Third World countries have been quick to point out that each new American consumes five times as much food and 60 times as much energy per year as the average South Asian."

How do they miss such a glaring *non sequitur*? Why can't they see that the Third World's primary interest is in limiting and redistributing our *consumption*, not controlling our *population*, the growth of which is virtually at zero now anyway?

Whatever its explanation, this lapse of perception is a typical and very dangerous characteristic of too much discussion concerning population. Yet if anything will sabotage Spaceship Earth from the inside, such schemes as the cartel idea, which would deliberately threaten large numbers of the passengers with politically-motivated starvation while the few in the first-class berths and at the captain's table are mostly overweight, will do it.

The fundamental shortcomings of the population chapter show that even this generally enlightened body of activists is subject to mistakes, lapses of understanding, and class bias that could have far-reaching consequences for all of us. And this myopia would seem to be the most likely source of the book's failure to address several questions that are repeatedly evoked, but never adequately dealt with in the book, questions that are likely to be of overriding importance for the public as the transition from abundance to administered scarcity unfolds. Of these questions, three stand out:

First, how can we preserve the largest possible measure of control over our personal and community lives outside the enlarged central authority that appears to be coming?

Second, how can we maximize the accountability of the system and its managers to the people, and provide for real redress of individual and community grievances within it?

And third, how can we act now to make the managed order in fact only a transitional phenomenon, one that will be succeeded as soon as possible by a new social order that will more fully embody the values of human scale, openness and participation, which will likely be severely challenged in the meantime?

It seems very likely that the transition outlined in *The Unfinished Agenda* will come to pass. In California, where I live, the evidence is as close as the nearest unflushed toilet.

This being the case, it would seem to be time for those whose lives will be rearranged by it, and that includes just about everyone, to begin paying attention to the human and political issues involved in these epic changes.

These values make up only a minor and neglected part of *The Unfinished Agenda*, as formulated by its environmentalist activist authors and sponsors. The implication is clear that if we don't figure out how to preserve these values, the new crew of our beleaguered spaceship isn't going to do it for us.

—Chuck Fager

Chuck Fager is a freelance writer in San Francisco.

The Legacy of Vietnam



Drawing by David Levine. Reprinted with permission of New York Review of Books © 1968, NYREV, Inc.

The U.S. in Vietnam, a case of grasshoppers against elephants

GRASSHOPPERS & ELEPHANTS: Why Vietnam Fell

By Wilfred Burchett
Urizen Books, 1977, paper \$4.95

OUR GREAT SPRING VICTORY: An Account of the Liberation of South Vietnam

By Gen. Van Tien Dung
Monthly Review Press, 1977, \$15

A SOLDIER REPORTS

By Gen. William C. Westmoreland
Doubleday, 1976, \$12.95

CAN AMERICA WIN THE NEXT WAR?

By Drew Middleton
Scribner's, 1975, \$8.95

It amounted to Ronald McDonald giving cooking lessons to the chefs of Paris.

During the Vietnam war Washington spent billions of dollars teaching political and military skills to the Vietnamese, a people who, by the historical record, are among the most politically sophisticated and militarily adept on earth.

At the time we chose to educate them in our Ding Dong schools of anti-communism and counter-revolution, we had just gotten over being mauled in Korea and humiliated at the Bay of Pigs. They had just finished knocking off the French empire, not to mention those in their time of Japan, China and Mongolia. Our influence on them was to be but that of an oil spill in the ocean of their history—polluting but, by and by, degradable.

About 1284, Tran Hung Dao Vietnam's military leader during the third Mongol invasion, wrote: "The enemy must fight his battles far from his home base for a long time.... We must further weaken him by drawing him into protracted campaigns. Once his initial dash is broken, it will be easier to destroy him."

It was essentially this strategy, fortified by the Vietnamese brand of Marxist revolution, that wrecked the American war machine and the American system's bid for franchise in Indochina.

The ironies of Vietnam.

The fascinating books by Wilfred Burchett and Gen. Van Tien Dung, the former the international left's foremost chronicler of war and revolution, and the latter the Chief of Staff of the Vietnam People's Army (VPA), mine the ironies of the war that Washington prefers to leave buried.

Reading them, it's clear that "pragmatic" Washington's dogmas about communism and Asians were as responsible for its defeat as "dogmatic" Hanoi's practical realism about American power and the way to cope with it. In Burchett's metaphor (borrowed from Ho Chi Minh), the U.S. used elephants to catch grasshoppers while the grasshoppers used their wits to drive the elephants into the sea.

Self-proclaimed individualists, our leaders opted for a war dependent on mindless agglomerations of troops and technology, guided by a bureaucratized officer caste whose chief strategy was "cover

BOOKS

LEGACY OF VIETNAM

your ass" and whose main tactic was the evasion of responsibility—the old Army game in a new corporate version. A lone VPA sniper rated an artillery barrage, and the rumor of an enemy squad in the area was enough to bring the B-52s into action.

It was a self-serving, dishonest war. The CIA got into the habit of writing its own "captured enemy documents" because the real ones didn't say what the top brass wanted to hear.

Accused collectivists, the communists fought a war that by its very nature relied upon the loyalty, ingenuity and guts of individual cadres and largely autonomous battle formations. The VPA's command structure was, perforce, decentralized. It expected, and got, more in the way of personal initiative from the ranks than probably any other army in history.

While democratic Washington was trying to bomb Vietnam into rubble on the liberal premise that communism would somehow be crushed in the wreckage, totalitarian Hanoi was using political weapons to woo people on every level of South Vietnamese society.

The NLF managed to create a dense web of cadres, spies and helpers who, at the right moment, were able to sow panic in Saigon's ranks, organize the rear areas, and pave the political way for the fast-moving VPA spearheads.

Burchett tells us they were so successful at this broadscale recruiting that in the closing days of the war hundreds of "loyal" Saigon cadres, many converted or planted years before, were able to take over most of the capital's key facilities from the inside and present them in pristine condition to the VPA troops at the hour of liberation. Even the invaluable files of Thieu's cops and spies were saved from removal or destruction by "plants."

Ordinary people.

Burchett is at his best detailing the resourcefulness and courage of ordinary people engaged in the extraordinary work of making a revolution. He talks about their suffering, the atrocities they endured, but to evoke respect rather than pity.

On the other side of the battlefield, he writes of his meetings with Kissinger and Harriman, letting their self-deluding statements speak for themselves.

Burchett deserves a bouquet here. He has covered most of the major hotspots of the postwar world—Germany, Eastern Europe, USSR, China, Korea, Cuba, Portugal and southern Africa—providing us with more and better information than the money press sees fit to print. He's a John Reed and a half, a legitimate hero for aspiring radical journalists.

Gen. Dung's book is a straight military history of the war-winning spring 1975 offensive that he led in the field. It should be read in conjunction with the book by Gen. William C. Westmoreland, Dung's erstwhile counterpart on the American high command. The differences are revealing.

The Vietnamese, a weaver by trade, a criminal agitator by the lights of Paris and Washington, is a political revolutionary with military expertise. The American, a technician, frankly admits that

the politics of a supremely political war only confused him.

Dung's narrative, laced with poetry, is warm and worldly. Westmoreland's words march in lockstep while his mind remains at parade rest.

The collectivist, a colleague of the legendary Vo Nguyen Giap and the product of an incredibly complex and prolonged revolutionary experience, is a singular human being. The individualist, stamped out by the West Point cookie cutter, is indistinguishable from any other time-server in uniform.

A "no-win" policy?

Westmoreland's book is mainly a gripe about Washington's supposed "no-win" policy. It sounds vaguely plausible until Dung reminds us that at the apogee of the "no win" war, his troops were successfully engaging over 60 percent of total American conventional forces and a Saigon army of a million-plus (ineffectives).

Or that the U.S. dumped ten million tons of bombs on Vietnam, more than were dropped in all previous wars put together. If this amounted to "no win" then the Normandy invasion must have been an exercise in surrender!

The yahoo's reply to this is that, after all, we could have nuked our opponents into oblivion. Implicit in this barbarous cop-out is the admission that American conventional forces, no matter how powerful or numerous, were inferior to those of a small peasant country.

Outfought.

The U.S. didn't lose the war because it was evil and Vietnamese revolutionaries were righteous, though there is a kind of truth in that romantic notion. It lost because it was outfought. The communists, inferior only in material things, were better organized, had higher morale, were more capably led, and were served by a Marxist praxis that, in very practi-

cal ways, was superior to the myths and wishful thoughts that guided the American warmakers.

Since 1950 the American military has been regularly drubbed by the small communist countries it has chosen to pick on. Drew Middleton, the Clausewitz in residence at the *New York Times*, says in his post-Vietnam book that the American losing streak is likely to continue. He believes that the Russians would whip us in a war in which, for one reason or another, nuclear weapons weren't used.

He even sees our military chances as dim in the kind of limited war situation that could erupt, say, in the Mideast. His pessimism is based on technical and social factors, but he evades the toughest issues.

It was American capitalism's decision after World War II to make our military both the guardian of empire and a function of our waste economy. The goals were incompatible.

Armies, like boxers, should be lean, clean and quick. Ours was made corrupt, infected with gout, and largely unable to apply its new supermarket doctrines of warfare to the real thing.

The Pentagon was turned into another of our great, business-serving state bureaucracies. Its ability to fight wars has become equal to HEW's ability to fight poverty.

We assume the Pentagon can blow up the world (providing, of course, that the missiles are more reliable than our Pintos or Mr. Coffee machines), but that's about all we can assume.

Meanwhile, an underlying truth in all four of these books can be boiled down to what an admiral told Drew Middleton: "Lendin said that an army reflects the society. Well, God help us if he was right, and our forces reflect our society."

—Peter Karman

Peter Karman is a freelance writer in Connecticut.

The U.S. didn't lose because it was evil and the Vietnamese righteous; it was outfought.



Wilfred Burchett, the quintessential left journalist, above on the scene in Vietnam. Below, Larry Heinemann.

John Wayne-ing it with the Romeo platoon

CLOSE QUARTERS

By Larry Heinemann
Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977,
\$10

This first novel is the most convincing condemnation of America's imperialist war in Vietnam thus far. It is all the more remarkable for not once addressing popularly held conclusions about the war to support its vision. *Close Quarters* is pure fiction: it exists in its own time, on its own landscape, with its own moral scheme, and reads as if it were the first American book ever about Vietnam.

Philip Dosier is the unromantic anti-hero and narrator, Pfc. and later Sgt. Dosier in the Third Battalion of the 33rd, U.S. Army, Vietnam. In Tay Ninh City, Dosier meets his motorized reconnaissance unit, Romeo platoon, the most unmistakable slice of Americana since the Big Mac. It is autumn 1967. Tet has not yet happened; Washington has not been marched upon.

Dosier's friends in Romeo platoon are crude, arrogant, racist, violent and sentimental; archetyp-

ical American men of the range and battlefield. They like to "John Wayne it"—walk tall, swagger, cock their jaws towards the sunset, drink beer, smoke Cambodian grass like Castro smokes cigars and screw dink women ("dinks" are all Vietnamese, enemy and ally). They drive the most rugged land vehicles, call in the most sophisticated artillery and aircraft with sophisticated radios. They might have won the war if they had ever figured out what they were fighting for.

"I'll fill your sandbags or burn your shit or wander around in the bushes," Dosier says, "because I simply do not care about anything but a drink and some smoke and laying my head down every once in a while to rest my eyes."

These are not James Jones' soldiers, nor Hollywood's. Heinemann's intimate, unflattering portraits of Dosier's Romeo platoon are of war criminals, committed to no one or nothing but action and a general loathing of Asians. Yet Heinemann's indictment is so subtle, oftentimes done with such

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Julian Bond

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table; the rise of the right in Great Britain; a review of *Outrageous*, the new Canadian film about love between a female impersonator and a schizophrenic.

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BOOKS

LEGACY OF VIETNAM

tenderness, that its fictional authenticity is never jarred.

Rarely does the outside world intrude, though we know it's there: certainly the soldiers' hatred of Orientals began before Vietnam, and will continue afterwards. The violent, lyrical profanity is home grown; the John Wayne swagger made in America. Heinemann has done with Vietnam what a lot of writers have been afraid to do: he has put the finger on the soldiers who fought the war, rather than their leaders.

There is some doubt if this 1977 book could have been a 1967 book. Our soldiers were then only following orders, Heinemann among them. (The author served a combat tour with the U.S. Army in 1967-68.) Neither LBJ, the people, nor the Army were yet aware of the enemy's strength or the cracks soon to show in the empire. Calling soldiers to defy orders was then, and probably still is, treasonous. It was safer and easier to pin the blame on the leaders. There were fewer of them, and the soldiers were from the peoples' ranks, so that even Rusty Calley could become a sympathetic scapegoat for some higher evil.

Close Quarters' implication of rank-and-file culpability promises to be controversial. Dosier's comrades in combat are not the best sort of men, worsened by an unjust war. Romeo platoon isn't fighting for America, or freedom, or even against Communism, but for the privilege of living out some half-assed version of a John Wayne movie (will America never be de-Waynized, as Krushchev de-Stalinized the Soviet Union?).

Sgt. Dosier's pathos in the face of war and his own alienation is made more poignant by his desire to understand. From his baptism in combat, through the Tet offensive and home to Chicago, Dosier is wary, confused, and vulnerable to some rational explanation of the war, though none is forthcoming. A spirit of tragedy pervades every intimate detail as this vivid, lively portrayal of the effects of war leads directly to an awareness of this war's causes: imperialism, militarism, and the blind aggressiveness of the American soldier.

—Jeffrey Gillenkirk

Jeffrey Gillenkirk is a freelance writer in Los Angeles and regularly reviews books for *In These Times*.

a folk song (by Tom Paxton) celebrating his conversion from total acceptance to radical rejection of the purposes and practices of the American "effort" in Southeast Asia.

Kovic's autobiographical *Born on the Fourth of July* is his own, rather naive account of how that change came about.

Much of the book is devoted to lyrical descriptions of a "typical" boyhood in Massapequa, Long Island. But the main message is that Kovic can no longer move his body from the waist down, so descriptions of his past are necessarily ironic.

He writes well about the dehumanizing and cruel atmosphere in the veterans' hospitals where he was "treated" after his return, as well as of his experiences with the Marines, both in the U.S. and in Vietnam.

The climactic action that results from his change of heart is the disruption in Miami. "I served two tours of duty in Vietnam!" I screamed to one newsmen. "I gave three-quarters of my body for America. And what do I get? Spit in the face." I kept screaming until we hit the side entrance where the agents pushed us outside and shut the doors, locking them with chains and padlocks so reporters wouldn't be able to follow us out for interviews. All three of us (veterans) sat holding on to each other shaking. We had done it. It had been the biggest moment of our lives, we had shouted down the President of the United States and disrupted his acceptance speech. What more was there left to do but go home?"

But how did this change come about, and where does it lead? We find out very little. There is almost no mention of friends, family support or non-support, books, ideas, or analyses of the problems inherent in a class-based society. As far as the reader can tell, this basic political change came about because Kovic was treated so harshly in the hospitals: "Something is happening to me in Room 17.... I feel myself changing, the anger is building up in me.... I have been screaming for almost an hour when one of the aides walks by. He sticks his head in the door, taunting me and laughing. 'I'm a Vietnam veteran,' I tell him. 'I fought in Vietnam and I've got a right to be treated decently.' 'Vietnam,' the aide says loudly. 'Vietnam don't mean nothin' to me or any of these other people. You can take your Vietnam and shove it up your ass.'"

"Something happened" to Kovic all right, and his narrative is touching and dramatic. But the basic questions remain unanswered: how does personal radicalization come about, and what is the relationship of this to broader social change? Traumatic and discrete personal experiences do sometimes lead to complete value and belief changes. But most people do not become radicalized after experiences in hospitals or with any of our other dehumanizing institutions, unfortunate though their experiences and responses may be. Neither do most people change solely through reading, although books can help clarify one's own analysis of society-wide problems. Kovic mentions reading only once: "Skip's views were very dif-

What does it take to change a man's mind?



BORN ON THE FOURTH OF JULY

By Ron Kovic
McGraw-Hill, N.Y., 1976

Ron Kovic has become a symbol of the disillusioned and therefore enlightened veteran of the Vietnam war.

As one of the Veterans Against the War, he took part in the demonstration that disrupted the Republican National Convention in Miami in 1972. Four years later, he was permitted to address the closing session of the Democratic Convention. And there is now

BOOKS

LEGACY OF VIETNAM

ferent from mine back then. He was against the war. And each time I left his house to go home, he'd give me books to read—books about the black people and poor people of the country. I laughed at him at first and didn't take the books too seriously, but it was lonely in my room and soon I began to read. And before long, every time I went to his house I asked for more books." Whatever sustenance or support for his beliefs Kovic gained from these books isn't mentioned.

Born on the Fourth of July is

not a useful book in terms of learning how political consciousness is shaped or changed. One wonders whether it has been praised by critics (and bought by the public) because the author's personal tragedy is so easy to sympathize with and because the book is so safe, ignoring as it does the broader problems and successes of group action and resistance.

—Barbara H. Linden

Barbara H. Linden teaches sociology at Hampshire College in Amherst, Mass.

(plus the maneuvering of a charlatan psychiatrist).

With considerably less remorse, however, Kopay essentially agrees with Mitzel's observation that "professional team sports are short-order, comparatively neat, highly-stylized forms of organized violence." Excerpts from sports-writers' reports on Kopay's career, while sometimes boring and repetitive, document the violence and Kopay's role in it.

Kopay is now a bit more circumspect when he says: "I know from my experience that football is a real outlet for repressed sexual energy. And to the extent that there's no other outlet—except in irrational violence toward innocent people—I think it's a healthy thing for the players and the fans."

A process of change.

Mitzel hates football, while Kopay still loves it, or is so involved in it that he thinks he still loves it. However, in the aftermath of his coming out and becoming involved as a homosexual spokesman, Kopay seems more ambiguous. Without meaning it that way, perhaps, Kopay's book is as much an indictment of football as it is an indictment of the homophobia he has suffered from. This may be the work of co-author Young, who has apparently done much to go beyond the specifics of Kopay's life to deal with some of the broader issues.

The drama of the autobiography, nevertheless, is what holds it together. I was especially intrigued with Kopay's recounting of his youth in a very strict Catholic home, his mostly horrendous encounters with his parents and siblings over the issue of his homosexuality, his brief life as a seminarian, his affair and marriage with an airline stewardess, his "I-was-so-drunk-last-night-I-don't-remember-a-thing" affair with a male friend, and the bigotry encountered along the way (add Washington Redskins owner and hot-shot lawyer Edward Bennett Williams to your list of homophobes).

Within the gay liberation movement, Kopay seems bound to be the most comfortable with those who admire his masculinity, those least likely to challenge the establishment norms in competitive outlook that Kopay has followed. But if revolution is "process," then Kopay is already involved in revolutionary change.

In the insular world of pro football, Kopay was relatively protected from the cultural revolution that has been swirling about America since the '60s. Now as a part of the gay liberation movement, Kopay cannot possibly avoid interaction with the men who were sissies and the women who were tomboys, the socialists who strive to end competition, the pacifists who decry brutality, and the feminists who refuse to permit men to pride themselves in masculinity as long as masculinity means men exerting power over women.

One anecdote in Kopay's book stands out—a recounting of Kopay's brief career off-season as a junior exec for a closet-case businessman. In this relationship, the businessman, married with children, provided Kopay with a well-paid, no-work job in which the football player's only real responsibility was to look good and

make himself available for occasional non-reciprocal sex.

Although this relationship led Kopay into a severe depression, he still seems unable to analyze its political significance, namely that Kopay, though admired for his masculinity, was cast in a passive feminine role. Kopay observes that the businessman "believed that it would be the end of his family life and business career if it were known that he was homosexual. I didn't—and don't—believe that."

As a masculine ally, Kopay is unable to get in touch with his anger. Kopay cannot see that the businessman's role as capitalist and patriarch compels him to marginalize his own homosexuality, dehumanizing and prostituting Kopay (along with his own wife) in the process.

Later, Kopay, describing a dinner in his honor with the conservative Seattle gay group, the Dorian Society, takes pride in pointing out the up-front homosexual businessmen involved. We see Kopay's tenacious grip on masculine values—he imagines not a new world, but the same old world changed only so that homosexual-

ity "doesn't matter."

Despite the efforts of a few ambitious homosexual men who indeed have much interest in maintaining the status quo, I remain convinced that it won't happen that way. The link between the gay liberation and the feminist movements is already too well forged. There are too many men and women involved with the gay movement who will simply not permit the movement to be defined in the context of the patriarchal, capitalist status quo.

I am less disturbed by Kopay than I am by those who would seize upon him as an ideal spokesman. If Kopay's book is a best-seller (and it is), and if Kopay can command the highest fees and the biggest audiences of any gay speaker (and he can), it's due to people perceiving and glorifying him as a masculine man. Ultimately, however, Kopay's contribution to the movement, if it is to be a positive one, will be in terms of his rejection of the masculine role, not his affirmation of it.

—Allen Young

Allen Young is a writer and gay activist in Massachusetts.

Sports

Gay liberation within a macho sports ethic

THE DAVID KOPAY STORY

By David Kopay and Perry Deane Young

Arbor House, \$8.95

SPORTS & THE MACHO MALE

By John Mitzel

Fag Rag Books, Box 331 Kenmore Sta., Boston, Mass. 02215 \$2.50

The coming out of former football star David Kopay presents essentially the same "problem" to the gay liberation movement as did the coming out two years ago of Air Force Sgt. Leonard Matlovich. Both have gloried in traditional strongholds of the most brutal masculinity—the military and the gridiron—and both have been persecuted for their sexual preference.

As a civil rights issue, it's quite simple. The expulsion of Matlovich from the Air Force and the inability of Kopay to get a job as a coach in the National Football League are both clear-cut examples of the unconscionable bigotry and discrimination, further proof that homosexuals are denied basic constitutional rights and that we need the protection of gay civil rights legislation.

For those who define gay liberation as a civil rights issue, then, these are "perfect cases." Both men ostensibly perform perfectly within the norms of their chosen masculine professions—so the discrimination is indeed on the basis of sexual preference alone.

But gay liberation, to the thinking of many activists as well as many in the grass roots of the gay movement, goes beyond civil rights, encompassing the realm of sex roles and equality in human relationships. For gay people committed to pacifist and feminist ideals, then, a tough jock at first glance hardly seems a suitable spokesman. Just as some persons have charged Matlovich with being a "war criminal," it is felt that Kopay's career in competitive sports renders him hopelessly inadequate as a spokesman for a movement presumably based on tenderness, love and mutuality.

John Mitzel's compelling pamphlet *Sports & the Macho Male*, written before Kopay went public, is an incisive indictment of the professional football player as one who makes it "a full-time job possessing...Macho Masculine



qualities in a flashy, developed form." Mitzel writes: "Manliness' through the force of power and conquest, and the constant threat of these, is what Macho is all about."

On the basis of my own experience, and influenced by the well-developed argumentation in Mitzel's book, I expected Kopay's book to be essentially a defense of homosexuality from a basically masculine perspective. Indeed, much of his book has this tone to it: Kopay has disdain for effeminate men, and despite what seem to be the best efforts of co-author Perry Deane Young, Kopay is hardly self-critical about what is to me (and to Young) the terrifying brutality of his football career.

Nonetheless, it is clear that Kopay, in his new role as a gay spokesman, has already initiated the process of rejecting his past—not only the closet but much of the masculinity as well. (The same has begun to happen with Matlovich, I believe.)

On the whole, I found the book convincing as a self-portrait, and while I am uncomfortable with the way that Kopay has been catapulted into fame as a gay person, I am not surprised that the juxtaposition of "homosexual" and "football star" would be turned into a best-selling book.

There is much human warmth and valuable insight in Kopay's and Young's storytelling that is informative and useful to those who think in a feminist mold.

Kopay illustrates, for example, how women are used by football players, in the context of the sexually repressive jock environment, and he explains ruefully how his own marriage to a woman was the result of this sort of dynamic

Labor

American trade unions from across the Atlantic

LES SYNDICATS AMERICAINS (The American Unions)

By Jean-Pierre Cot and Jean-Pierre Mounier
Flammarion (Paris), 1977

If Jean-Pierre Cot had been born in the U.S., he would doubtless be a fashionable liberal. Following a brilliant performance at Harvard Law School, he would probably have ended up in a Democratic Wall Street firm, serving the interests of American liberalism and the multi-nationals.

In any event, like most of his American friends and colleagues, he would be very far from the working class.

But Jean-Pierre was born in France and his father was Pierre Cot, one of France's leading progressives, a minister in Leon Blum's Popular Front government, friend of Republican Spain and inveterate supporter of left unity. In 1968, having come out first in law school competition, he became the youngest dean of a French law school. Like many other young professionals, he was jolted into political consciousness by the events of May-June 1968 after which he joined the renovated French Socialist party.

Elected in 1973 as a deputy from his family's home region in the French Alps, he quickly made a reputation as one of the best orators in the National Assembly and one of the closest supporters of Socialist leader Francois Mitterrand.

Along with a colleague at the University of Paris, Cot has just published an account of a recent visit he made to American trade unions.

All Marxists, says Cot, must eventually come to grips with the anomaly of the U.S., the greatest industrial nation in the world,

where there is little conscious expression of class struggle and where the alienation of intellectuals from the working class is profound. To find a mass base for their criticism of establishment liberalism in the '60s American intellectuals looked everywhere—to students, blacks, hippies—but to the industrial working class and its trade union organization.

Are American trade unions instruments of class struggle or only mechanisms of class integration? To seek an answer to that Cot and his colleague visited union locals and international headquarters from coast to coast in the summer of 1975.

Cot was impressed by the number, variety and relative power of American unionism—a vast network consisting of some 200 different internationals and 100,000 paid officials who administer over 150,000 collective contracts. In comparison to France where most important negotiations occur on a national level, Cot was struck with the importance of local bargaining and the manifold responsibilities of local unions for contracts, grievances, pensions and social benefits.

Impressed by the strength of American unionism in the crafts and heavy industry, he noted its weakness in white-collar and service sectors and in entire regions of the country. Also disappointing was the persistence of craft divisions and the total absence of any expression of inter-professional solidarity. Of all the unions he visited only the Teamsters seemed to be organized on an inter-industry and truly class basis.

Cot was also struck by the political power wielded by the unions as legislative lobbyists and

BOOKS

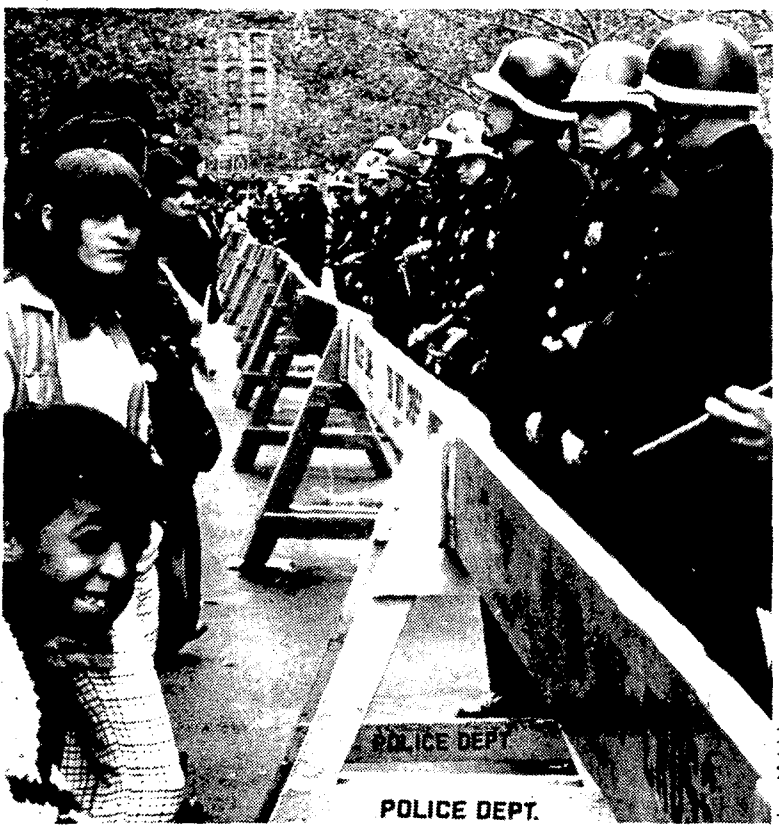
as shock troops for the Democratic party.

Talking with Meanyites, Reutherites, socialists and communists, Cot came away with the impression that American unionism was on the move and changing. He noted the campaign for union democracy among miners and steel workers, the UAW's interest in improving the quality of work, and the AFL-CIO's position in favor of nationalizing the railroads and economic planning. But he also noticed resistance to new ideas.

At AFL-CIO headquarters he was baffled by the obstinate anti-Communism of Meany's socialist assistant Tom Kahn. He was intrigued by the suggestion of socialist Michael Harrington that American unions already constituted the beginnings of an American labor party, but he doubts that class struggle unionism can be built without the formation of an independent socialist party. But Cot also concludes that socialism in the U.S. is not for tomorrow.

—Bernard H. Moss

Government



Police abuses don't make a police state

THE AMERICAN POLICE

STATE: The Government Against the People

By David Wise

Random House, 1976, \$12.95

There were aspects of a police state in the Nixon administration. Evidence of this is given in depressing detail in David Wise's *The American Police State*: e.g., the "plumbers," the Kissinger wiretaps, the politically inspired audits by the IRS, burglaries by the FBI and illegal operations by the CIA both at home and abroad. And the story of government lawbreaking is not restricted to the Nixon presidency. It is a function of the "imperial presidency" in general and can be traced back to the time of FDR.

Furthermore, the politics of official corruption cannot be studied solely in relation to the White House. Lower level agents and agencies have conducted "private" espionage operations, righteously convinced that they were acting in the national interest. The election of a just man (Jimmy Carter?) to the presidency does not guarantee that the mad and deleterious bureaucratic momentum will not continue. As one agent of the CIA has testified, "it's inconceivable that a secret intelligence arm of the government has to comply with all the overt orders of the government."

Nevertheless, the U.S. is not a totalitarian dictatorship; it is a

democratic republic. The fact that agents of the government break the law does not mean that we live in a police state. Crimes of one branch have been checked by other branches, as in the case of Watergate. Even when the destruction of civil liberties has gone undiscovered and unpunished, the extent of the crisis in our constitutional system must be presumed to be an illness from which the patient may recover rather than a terminal disease.

The subtitle of the book, *The Government Against the People*, again exaggerates the case. Certainly ours is not a populist democracy, but neither is the government a tool of general repression, captured by elites whose policies and actions invariably are in conflict with the interests of the majority or with the rights of minorities.

A noted journalist and author of such books as *The Politics of Lying*, David Wise has overinterpreted his evidence. The dismal tales of malfeasance in high office deserve serious treatment, and his case studies of illegal abuses are excellent. His conclusions, however, are flawed.

As Wise himself says, "Despite what this book is about, America has been and can again be a place of freedom."

—Jonathan F. Galloway

Jonathan F. Galloway teaches politics at Lake Forest College.

Working Class History

Working class resistance as the factory superceded the craftsman

CLASS AND COMMUNITY:

The Industrial Revolution in Lynn

By Alan Dawley

Harvard Studies in Urban History, Harvard Univ. Press, 1976

The winner of the Bancroft Prize in American History, Alan Dawley's saga of the Lynn, Mass. shoemakers is perhaps the first effort to submit the development of a specific community—including its social structure, labor movement and political culture—to a searching class analysis.

Dawley presents a complex yet vivid picture of the central social phenomenon of the 19th century, the industrial revolution. From the Jacksonian period through the Gilded Age we see the steady erosion and ultimate decimation of an earlier artisan way of life. At the same time, however, we see the considerable resources of the Massachusetts shoemakers as they wielded the weapon of "equal rights" against the power of the industrial capitalists.

The main strength of the book lies in its careful evocation of changing relations of production and the impact of these economic changes on the social life of the community.

Master's house to shop.

In 1800 the household served as the basic unit of shoe production. The master shoemaker (and head of household) purchased the leather and supervised production in a "ten-footer" behind his family's cottage. Working under him were a couple of (usually younger) journeymen who brought their own kit of tools with them and who received from the master not only wages but room and board, firewood and clothing.

Within the master's house, wives and daughters, working as binders, hand stitched the upper part of the shoe. Younger sons, serving as apprentices and entrusted with a variety of odd jobs, completed the work team.

Household production was characterized by the unity of home and work life, as well as control by the artisan of the work process and work day. Although each household contained an internal hierarchy (perhaps a bit underestimated by Dawley), interdependence and a rough equality characterized the relations among shoeworking households and, indeed, between shoeworking households and most of the other households (farmers, craftsmen, small shopkeepers) and the "republican" community.

By the 1830s household shoe production had given way to the central shop. The master, who had fashioned his finished goods on customer order or else sold them to a small shopkeeper, had fallen victim to his supplier and distributor.

Taking advantage of credit and access to a protected national mar-



ket, Lynn shopkeepers now took sole command of production. Their general stores became the center of a vast putting-out system, the most significant domestic industry in American history.

Skilled cutters, finishers and packers worked in the central shop itself, but the male journeymen and women binders, now recruited across the New England countryside, continued to work at home.

The central shop system expanded the scale and lowered the cost of shoe production. By loosening the ties between work and home, it helped to "free" the individual, narrowing the relation between employer and worker to the wage payment.

The factory.

Lack of control over most of the work process and a scarcity of cheap rural labor set limits on the productivity of the putting-out system. The real production explosion occurred in the 1860s, when the sewing machines and the McKay were combined with an intricate division of labor to create a factory system of mass production. Two thousand fewer workers produced seven million more shoes in 1875 than in 1855.

The factory system had a drastic effect on the shoeworkers and their community. No natural line of mobility allowed the average worker to escape life-long wage dependency. Fewer workers could expect to earn even a "competence"—"to possess real estate or saving sufficient to house a family, or tide it over during hard

times, or support husband and wife in old age." A seasonal production cycle unleashed a vast army of tramps across the New England countryside. With the breakup of the shoeworking household, young men moved away from their parents, and the 'lady shoebinder' gave way to the 'factory girl' who left the labor market upon marriage.

Daily interaction between farmers and workers, men and women, children and adults, dependent helpers and independent artisans in small-scale production had given way to a new order of work that stretched the ends of each of these polarities into separate social spheres. Workplace authority—previously exercised by the father or master craftsman or by one's fellow journeymen—for the first time yielded to external supervision in the person of the foreman.

Changes in public life.

The factory owners who presided over these changes in work also presided over important changes in the public life of the town. The 1850 replacement of Lynn's town meeting by mayor/city council system of local government symbolized the passage from a consensual "republic" of citizen-householders to a democracy of competing social interests. For the first time local affairs came under strong initiative by business reformers. The problems of administration and control of an increasingly fragmented community were also symbolized in the establishment of a profession-

BOOKS

WORKING CLASS HISTORY

al police and fire department, as well as the reorganization of poor relief in the 1860s.

Above all, however, the new industrialists' interests in government—particularly in the police power—stemmed from the fact that the workers they were harnessing to the new machines were not mere factors of production, but thinking men and women who stubbornly clung to a faith in "equal rights."

Time and again over the 19th century—in the Workingmen's party of the 1830s, in the Great Strike of 1860 (the largest strike prior to the Civil War), in the Knights of St. Crispin (1868-1872), the great commonwealth of shoeworkers, and finally during the mid-'80s when shoemakers contributed a key battalion to the ultimate expression of 19th century working class radicalism, the Knights of Labor—Lynn workers left evidence of a collective power and identity derived in part from memories of the old household-based shoeworking community.

The advent of the Crispins indicated that the old artisan's sense of his rightful place in the republic had been transferred to a younger, often Irish, generation of factory workers. This forward-looking industrial organization not only laid down wage rates for the trade, but also contested capitalist control of government. As late as 1888 Lynn shoeworkers were able to capture the mayoralty with a Workingmen's ticket.

Business victory.

It is true that in each period the Lynn factory owners were able to beat back opposition to their rule of work and society. Enjoying an overwhelming advantage in the marketplace, and able to resort in crisis to the courts, the police or even the militia, they managed in hard times to drive back worker organization and in other times to allow class polarization to dissipate in the political boosterism of city-building.

As Dawley points out, "while recognition must be paid to the supremacy of business in the political economy of the nation at large, facile generalizations about the popular acceptance of business leadership at all levels of life and notions of America as a middle-class society do not square with examples like Lynn."

Dawley confronts the big questions even when he cannot always supply the most convincing answers. Given the robust tradition of shoeworker protest, he wonders why these workers never developed a revolutionary consciousness, why (in their thinking at least) they never took on the system as a whole. Here, of course, he is up against the question of American exceptionalism, which one must either challenge or explain.

Unfortunately, in this reviewer's opinion, Dawley accepts the latter option and spins a complex explanation based on the idea that bitter class conflict at the work-

place continually expired on contact with the American political system. Dawley states flatly that the "ballot box was the coffin of class consciousness" in the U.S.

Unity of work and politics.

Probably without meaning to, Dawley ends up forcing a sharp distinction between consciousness spawned at the workplace (class consciousness) and consciousness rooted in other areas of the culture (political class conciliation). His own evidence, however, indicates the constant, inseparable interaction of work, culture, and politics.

Thus the Great Strike of 1860 is inaugurated on Washington's birthday and pro-strike demonstrators arrange themselves by ward groups. Did the "coffin" of class consciousness in this case suddenly become its cradle? Or had we not better abandon a rigid separation of work from other sources of consciousness?

Within non-revolutionary limits, 19th century American politics will also likely show greater working-class self-expression than Dawley's study reveals. Nevertheless, his very provocativeness on such a thorny, but crucial subject typifies the author's daring and mercifully separates *Class and Community* from the somewhat school of social history.

—Leon Fink

Leon Fink is a professor of history at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Transitory socialism in Oklahoma

WHEN THE FARMERS VOTED RED: The Gospel of Socialism in the Oklahoma Countryside, 1910-1924

By Garin Burbank
Greenwood Press, Westport, 1976, \$13.95

Garin Burbank opens this book on a personal note. He began the research as a graduate student at Berkeley, "inspired by angry dissatisfaction with the general direction of American politics in the 1960s." His original design was to discover among the Oklahoma socialists of the early 20th century a radical essence analogous to his contemporary frame of mind.

He didn't, and the book explains where his early notions went astray.

The "spectacular and regrettably brief" achievements of the Socialist party in Oklahoma begin with the campaign in which, with Eugene V. Debs as their candidate for president, the Sooner socialists garnered 7 percent of the state's vote. By 1914, they were getting 21 percent.

The heart of the crusade was the Green Corn Rebellion, an uprising of tenant farmers against the propertied classes. In Oklahoma these included the Democratic party. However "progressive" in its national visage (in the period of William Jennings Bryan and later, Woodrow Wilson), locally it was the foremost antagonist of the SP. "As aspirants to middle-class decency," the Democrats, in Burbank's view, "feared the sullen hostility of the local lower classes."

Books that examine the Social-

ist party of the U.S. have heretofore been urban-focused. What makes Burbank's work especially welcome is that the radicalism he studies was related to rural poverty (low farm values, a high percentage of farm tenancy and of mortgaged property, and dependency on cotton and wheat as staple crops). The centers of socialist strength in Oklahoma were the Red River countries of the south, the wheatlands of the west and the coal mining region. Cities provided very little consistent support.

The heart of the book is Burbank's consuming interest in ideology. He argues that a significant connection existed between evangelical religion and political radicalism, which ultimately led to the rapid demise of the movement. "There was predictably more of Leviticus than of Marx." Although under certain political and economic circumstances a significant number of farmers were attracted to the promise of socialism, in the end even the most committed adherents succumbed to the entrenched forces of corporate capitalism. Socialism in Oklahoma was a brief and "transitory moment" in the development of modern America.

Burbank's fine case study deserves wide dissemination and should be issued in a less expensive paperback format to that end.

—Michael H. Ebner

*Michael H. Ebner teaches social history at Lake Forest College and is co-editor of the forthcoming *Age of Urban Reform: New Perspectives on the Progressive Era*.*

Socialist History

Tempests in teapots in American Trotskyism

THE PROPHET'S ARMY:

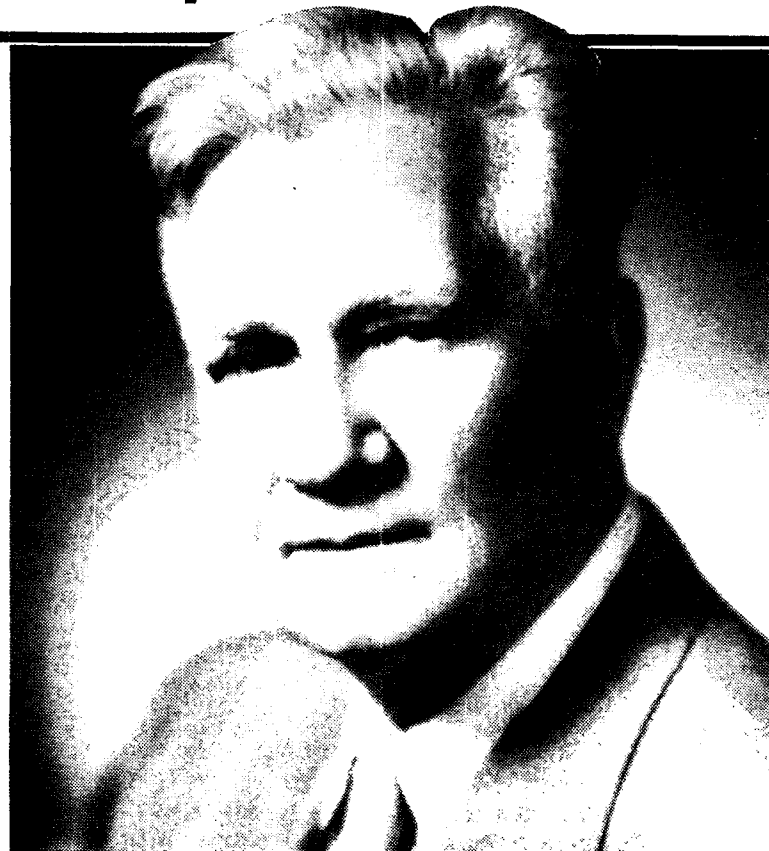
Trotskyism in America, 1928-1941

By Constance Ashton Myers
Greenwood Press, \$16.95

Constance Ashton Myers has written a comprehensive and concise narrative history of the Trotskyist movement in the U.S.: the story of James P. Cannon organizing a "left opposition" in the American Communist party in 1928; the Dunne brothers igniting the Minneapolis teamsters strike in 1934; the Trotskyists raiding the Socialist party in the "French turn" of 1936; and finally Max Shachtman precipitating a mass exodus from the Socialist Workers party in 1940.

Myers concludes that political sectarianism doomed the Trotskyist movement in the United States. "Trotskyists spoke a language either unintelligible or distasteful to working people, the class that party leaders most wanted to attract," the author says. "All of its convolutions, splits over minute points of doctrine, and internal struggles over power seemed only tempests in a teapot."

While Myers condemns sectarianism, she herself occasionally falls into sectarian interpretations. She approvingly reiterates Irving Howe's opinion that Communist leaders promoted "weak men," but she presents no historical evidence to substantiate this accusation against the character of Communist leaders. She also laces in-



James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism.

to the "autocratic" Trotsky and his "henchman" Cannon, invariably finding their positions "doctrinaire."

Many veteran radicals will disagree with Myers' judgement that "Shachtman was no factionalist." Although Shachtman insisted that factionalists provoked him, he often responded in kind, and Myers' own evidence tends to refute her generalization.

All historians entrap themselves to some degree in their

own interpretive rhetoric, and Myers' interpretive errors fall within the normal range of human fallibility. Socialist history is, in any event, filled with land mines. Myers presents many new facts and many fresh ideas about Trotskyism in the U.S. Her book is a valuable contribution to radical history.

—John Harper

John Harper teaches at District Council 37 Campus of the College of New Rochelle, N.Y.

The German Communist party before Hitler

INSIDE GERMAN COMMUNISM—Memoirs of Party Life in the Weimar Republic

By Rosa Levine-Meyer, Urizen, N.Y., \$8.95

From the end of World War I to the Nazi era (1918-1933) the German Communist party (KPD) was the strongest in Europe.

Throughout the period, the party scored electoral triumphs, most notably in the parliamentary elections of 1924 and 1928 when it won 3.25 million votes, and the presidential elections of 1932 when its total leapt to 6 million. Twice in December-January 1918-19 and in March 1921 the KPD attempted to seize power through "proletarian actions." Ultimately, however, it failed not only to overtake its rivals on the left, but to fend off the growing menace of the fascist right.

Why went wrong? Rosa Levine-Meyer was in a position to know.

Of Russian-Jewish descent, she came to Germany at the age of 20 and there married Eugen Levine, leader of the short-lived Soviet Republic in Bavaria (1918-19). After his capture and execution by right-wing forces, she met and married Ernst Meyer, leader of the KPD's right wing—the factor favoring limited cooperation with the left



wing of the largely reformist German Socialist party (SPD).

Rosa and Ernst lived only for the party. With the exception of some personal anecdotes about leading party figures in Germany and the USSR and a love letter from Ernst (printed without comment) Ms. Levine-Meyer writes nothing about their personal lives.

The party, as her memoirs show, was repeatedly convulsed by factional infighting between its far left wing (which focused on ideological purity and shunned association with the SPD and non-party groups) and its more moderate wing. Increasingly, the party took its ideological tone as well as its marching orders from the Comintern headquarters in Moscow.

BOOKS

SOCIALIST HISTORY

The tragedy of the KPD was that during the crucial years from 1929 to 1933 it was so intent on the "correct line," so busy denouncing and opposing the SPD that it neglected the formation of a united front against the Nazis. Stalin and other Soviet leaders were convinced that the USSR was threatened with attack not by the Germans, but by Britain and France. In both these countries social democrats were among the mainstays of the bourgeois ruling order. Moscow therefore ordered Communist parties throughout Europe to break off united front activity at the time it was most needed and to wage ceaseless ideological warfare against the "social fascists."

As Ms. Levine-Meyers shows, this allowed the party's far left to gain ascendancy with disastrous results. The trade union movement was weakened by the creation of separate, Communist unions. The party became dogmatic, undemocratic and obsequious to the "great man" in the Kremlin. In the name of "bolshevization," "double-crossing [and] lies became daily practice under the left...accompanied by perse-

cution of intellectuals." Hopelessly fractured, the left was unable to mount an effective resistance to the Nazis after Hitler became Chancellor in January 1933.

Inside German Communism takes us to the years of the early Purge Trials. Ms. Levine-Meyer portrays a number of individuals who became apologists for Stalin's totalitarianism, conscious of their own mendacity, but so devoted to the party and immersed in its life that they preferred to "sell out" rather than risk expulsion.

These memoirs tell us too little about what the KPD meant to the rank and file and do not adequately analyze the party's successes and failures in the historical and political context of the Weimar Republic. They do, however, give the reader a very good sense of what it meant to eat, sleep and live for the party, convinced that the revolution might be within grasp, even as the party was abandoning and betraying some of its best leaders and ideals.

—David M. Szonyi

David M. Szonyi is a doctoral candidate in modern European history and frequently reviews for *In These Times*.

tic element in human existence. This diminishes rather than illuminates the problem of humanity's imprisonment, which is his major concern. The quasi-allegorical escape in which Farragut "dies" in order to become free again stands in stark contrast to more naturalistic (and overtly political) accounts of prison life in America today.

Cheever's soul is not on ice—his pen lends it the wings of an angel.

Reality is a fashionable element in Joan Didion's new novel, *A Book of Common Prayer*. West coast radical chic, Latin American revolution, middle class ennui serve as the milieu of her story of a middle-aged California woman's disaffection from life. It is essentially the same story Didion told in *Play It As It Lays*—the fall from a position of wholeness and security into a place where fear and terror reigns.

The first-person narrator, a Yankee anthropologist who is the widow of a Latin American dictator, should have lent this novel depth and a more expansive view of the main character's suffering. Instead, it merely adds another layer of coldness to the entrenched Didion style. In her earlier fiction, it was already nearly as deformed as the pitiable creature born to the drugged, slightly demented and damaged Charlotte Douglass whose daughter Marin has run off a la Patty Hearst to play revolutionary.

Didion's soul is pure ice. She attempted to write a novel that would allow us to read between the lines of last year's newspapers, but gave us instead a book that falls between the stools of exploitation and explication.

Set for the most part in Iowa City, John Casey's first novel, *An American Romance*, sidesteps its way into the heart and minds of those who care about everyday things. A graduate student named Anya who wants to wrest herself free from the enervating daily round of Chicago intellectual life and a natural man named Mac who builds things, represent for Casey the paradigm of modern lovers. The case he constructs for them (as they build a repertory theater on the outskirts of Iowa University) is bold in its reach but overlong.

Fiction for Casey grows out of the facts of gritty, nitty living together in a quasi-commune complete with VD and a troupe of actors. Unfortunately, it's too much like life in Berryman's *Dream Song* #14, often boring, but we must not say so.

William Humphrey is author of several distinguished but not widely known novels of Texas life. His newest book-length work is the autobiographical *Farther Off From Heaven*, in which he reconstructs his boyhood in light of the traumatic death one summer night in 1937 of his auto mechanic father.

The elder Humphrey was a fiery bantam Texan, who left behind a boyhood as a share-cropper's son to become a hunter and tracker in the woods of east Texas and then an auto mechanic, Clarksburg's finest.

The pains and intricacies of southwestern class and caste have never been so finely rendered as in Humphrey's prose elegy to his lost parent and to all the lost dus-

ty days of his childhood. This carefully composed, unassuming quest for the reality of one writer's past outshines Cheever's lustrious allegory, Didion's pretentious *roman a clef* and Casey's

garrulous carnival of the ordinary present.

—Alan Cheuse

Alan Cheuse teaches English at Bennington College and reviews fiction for *In These Times*.

Best-seller built around tomorrow's headlines

PARIS ONE

By James Brady
Delacorte, N.Y., \$8.95

Superficially at least, the most distinctive feature of *Paris One* is its topicality.

The book's plot, which revolves around the attempt of a large Delaware chemical concern to take over one of the last great Parisian houses of fashion, occurs against the background of a French election: Valéry Giscard d'Estaing versus a left popular front. The book's hero, Anthony Winslow, obtains his job with a New York merchant bank after helping Felix Rohatyn "save" the city from bankruptcy. And when Winslow leaves for France, he flies out of Kennedy airport on the Concorde supersonic transport. Only a half dozen picketing housewives remain to see him go.

Paris One is a 300-page novel, and it was written in three months. Author James Brady, formerly editor of *Women's Wear Daily* and now editor of *New York* magazine, relies so heavily on current events that it is tempting to note instances where he was wrong about what would have taken place by the time of the book's publication. e.g., no Concorde has yet departed from Kennedy. But the point to be made is not how good a prophet Brady is, but how he uses current events to provide an instant social texture, which is thin but easily apprehended.

Brady has a sharp eye for people and writes well. *Paris One* is cleverly done, fast-paced, with a good deal of intrigue and sus-



Alex Goffroy

Author-editor James Brady

pense. All of which accounts for its continuing popularity.

He also delivers an extremely damning indictment of the practices of modern corporations—although he cops out in the end through the book's most stereotyped characters, the banker with integrity and the whore with the heart of gold.

The resultant anti-climax is dictated by the imperatives of aiming for the best-seller list. Nevertheless, *Paris One* is indicative of a shift in popular consciousness. It would seem that the same imperatives that make an author cop out, also permit him to ascribe violence, duplicity and murder to a multinational corporation as if these were only slightly exceptional business practices.

—Joel Blau

Best-seller built around the history of a family

THE THORN BIRDS

By Colleen McCullough
Harper & Row, 1977

The Thorn Birds is a best-selling novel of the kind that deserves to be described as "romantic" and "sprawling." Some popular novels achieve their place on the most-wanted list by mixing sex and violence. *The Thorn Birds* is subtler.

The novel belongs to the genre of family sagas—in this case the Cleary family, who run one of the largest sheep ranches in Australia. We follow them through three generations from their impoverished beginnings in New Zealand circa 1915 to the late 1960s, by which time their grand-daughter is a great star of the London stage and their grandson is a Vatican priest.

The plot is rich and elaborately detailed. Many things can happen to a family in 50 years, and a family saga is not likely to leave anything out. As a consequence we have unrequited love and other suffering, and death by drowning, heart attack and prairie fire.

The purpose of narrating all these misfortunes seems to be the reaffirmation of the durability of the family. The Clearys are able to persevere through just about anything. The problem is that this casts some doubt on the integrity of the story.

The Clearys' ability to survive, of course, is not unrelated to their wealth. Colleen McCullough is strangely oblivious to this point. She seems to be using the family fortune to create a feeling of romantic excitement, while their misfortunes soothe our incipient envy and tell us that the rich are just like us after all because they also suffer.

These two themes—that families survive and that the rich are just like the rest of us—are tranquilizing medicine for what is currently unhinging the American mind. McCullough is on to something. She knows what's troubling us and wants to pat us all on the head.

Needless to say, we should not bend down.

—J.B.

Fiction et al.



Jerry Bauer

Autobiographer William Humphrey.

Four ways of dealing with American reality

FALCONER

By John Cheever
Knopf, \$7.95

A BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER

By Joan Didion
Simon & Schuster, \$8.95

AN AMERICAN ROMANCE

By John Casey
Atheneum, \$9.95

FARTHER OFF FROM HEAVEN

By William Humphrey
Knopf, \$8.95

John Cheever's new novel, a long-awaited affair, plunks the reader down inside Falconer pri-

son, into the cell and mind of a fratricidal WASP named Farragut, whose special condition comes to stand for the condition of us all.

Farragut is a drug addict (never a believable one) who murdered his brother and suffers imprisonment as a result. From the initial moments in which a fellow prisoner steals his expensive wrist-watch on through his love affair with a seedy young swindler, his petty insanities and laments and the facts of his incarceration make great sense. But Cheever turns the real surreal in order to dramatize the fantas-

THE LAW

Harassed woman sues the FBI

MILWAUKEE, WISC.—Over a period of many years, Mary Blair, a member of the Communist party, has been the target of a systematic program of harassment and persecution by the FBI. Now, with the help of evidence provided by the FBI under the Freedom of Information Act, she has brought suit in U.S. District Court here for \$1,634,000 in damages against six present and former officials of the FBI.

Blair's lawsuit charges that these six and other unnamed FBI officials, through covert, illegal and disruptive actions in 1960 and 1961, caused the Olsen Publishing Co. of Milwaukee to fire her, and through similar actions caused the Boy Scouts to remove her as a Cub Scout Den Mother.

Although the suit names only those actions occurring in the period of 1960-61, Blair has good reason to believe that the agency's activities against her began many years before that. "By the time I was fired by the Olsen Company in 1961, I had sort of gotten used to it," she said. "It happened before, but then I could only suspect the FBI's part in it—I had no proof. Now I have."

Blair's lawsuit, filed in her behalf by the Wisconsin Civil Liberties Union Foundation, charges that the harassment against her in the 1960s was part of the FBI's COINTELPRO Program, which had as one of its objectives the destruction and disruption of the Communist party-USA.

The FBI's campaign to get Blair removed as a Cub Scout Den Mother actually was a warm-up for the main event of

getting her fired from her job. A couple of months before beginning an anonymous letter-writing campaign to the Olsen firm, the FBI's Milwaukee office sought permission from Washington to mail a Boy Scout official a *Milwaukee Journal* clipping "which ties Mary Blair and her husband, Fred Blair, with the CP."

The reply received from the FBI Director's Office read: "Authority granted to anonymously mail the *Milwaukee Journal* article.... The letter which will accompany the article should be prepared on commercially purchased stationery and should be very brief. It should merely express alarm over the possibility that the Cub Scouts under the supervision of Mary Blair will be indoctrinated with un-American ideas. The letter should be signed very generally as 'A worried mother' or 'Please do something about this.'"

Then in September 1960 the FBI officials prepared and mailed an anonymous letter to the Olsen Publishing Co. calling attention to Blair's membership in the Communist party and urging that she be

discharged from her clerical job on that account.

After that letter failed to cause her discharge on April 25, 1961, the Milwaukee office of the FBI sent the following memorandum to the FBI's Washington office: "The Milwaukee office requests authorization to carry out the following counterintelligence action designed to cause the discharge of Mary Blair, wife of Fred Blair, chairman of the Communist party in Wisconsin, from her present employment."

"Mary Blair's continued employment and income are vital factors to her activity in the CP and her function as State Treasurer of the CP of Wisconsin. Her employment gives her 'peace of mind' which allows her to freely devote necessary time to the CP. The loss of this income would disrupt the proper handling of her CP duties...."

Permission was granted from Washington to carry out this plan and in May of 1961 the FBI's Milwaukee office mailed a second anonymous letter to the Olsen

firm, threatening to damage that company by widely publicizing the continued employment of Blair. The way this letter was written implied that it came from an Olsen employee.

Still, the Olsen company failed to react, so the FBI Milwaukee office decided to try another tactic. On Oct. 13, 1961, they sent a memo to Washington requesting authorization to send an anonymous mailing of 15 pieces of Communist party literature they had collected to Olsen's employees and executives, "with the intent and with the expectation that the mailing would be attributed to Mary Blair."

Six days later the FBI Director's Office in Washington replied, "Authority granted to mail the Communist party literature to the fellow employees of Mary Blair at the Olsen Publishing Company. The mailing should be made to the residences of these individuals. The usual precautions should be taken in carrying out these mailings so that they cannot be traced to the FBI or suspected of being an FBI operation."

And that did it. On Nov. 19, 1961, the Milwaukee FBI office was able to send this memo to Washington: "This is to advise that Mary Blair, Secretary-Treasurer of the Communist party of Wisconsin and an employee of Olsen Publishing Company, Milwaukee, has been discharged from her employment effective Nov. 6, 1961. The mailing of Communist party literature to 17 employees of the Olsen Publishing Co. had its desired effect..."

—Liberation News Service

Mozambique

Continued from page 9.

odus of Europeans. The image of an unstable and unpopular regime is explicitly challenged by most of these journalists. According to Ottaway, "Opposition to [President Machel's] rule is grossly exaggerated in the Western and Southern African press" (*Washington Post*, Feb. 16, 1977). His assessment seconds the English journalist Nicholas Ashford, who wrote, "...the most striking thing about Maputo under FRELIMO is how calm the city appears. Reports about a reign of terror being enforced are just not true. There are virtually no police to be seen, no armed soldiers in the street and no roadblocks near the city" (*The Times*, Oct. 5, 1976). In a similar vein, Renee Lefort notes that debate rather than coercion characterizes Mozambique's revolutionary transformation (*Manchester Guardian*, Feb. 13, 1976).

But what of the reputed concentration camps and prisons holding many thousands of Europeans about which Western reporters have written so indignantly? The English journalist David Martin writes: "At least 3,000 persons have been sent to political reeducation camps. They include drug addicts, pushers, prostitutes and

pimps, petty thieves and fences.... Those who need it are given medical treatment. All are given the taste and habit of productive work including building their own camps and growing their own food. There is no discrimination about who is sent for reeducation. Some of the inmates are white and inevitably that has brought an outcry from the Portuguese and other whites who have remained here and are not used to being treated the same as blacks" (*Africa*, February 1977).

Deep-rooted anxieties.

I recall the sense of surprise and disbelief when colleagues and I inadvertently walked into a makeshift prison, which was also an historical monument, in northern Mozambique last summer. None of the guards carried rifles, the prisoners were engaged in small group discussions and the only weapon in sight was a hatchet being used by a prisoner to chop wood. These prisoners, we subsequently heard, were former soldiers involved in an abortive coup. Perhaps we should not have been so surprised, since Mozambique is the first country in Africa to have abolished the

death penalty. Certainly we would be hard-pressed to find a similar scene in an American prison.

Rather than brutal repression, these journalists note that deep-rooted anxieties, reinforced by unfounded rumors of retribution, primarily precipitated the large-scale European migration. "African capitals, like capitals anywhere, are notorious for rumors," noted David Martin, "but in Maputo they have reached a new high. Since FRELIMO nationalized rented buildings in February there have been whispers that Machel is about to nationalize children, wives and bank accounts. Incredibly, some of these rumors have been printed and broadcast abroad, and panicked the white community here into exodus" (*Washington Post*, April 9, 1976).

Anxieties of this sort were expressed to me last summer not only by Portuguese but by mulattoes and Africans who had lived in relative privilege during the colonial period and had become disenchanted because the socialist goals of FRELIMO jeopardized their social position. Since

then Raymond Wilkerson has noted that it is residual fears and "perhaps disappointment that the government has stuck to its Marxist principles, that are driving out the large colony of Europeans" (*Washington Post*, April 20, 1977).

Thus, two rather different pictures of contemporary Mozambique emerge—one based primarily on secondary accounts, rumors and Rhodesian and South African propaganda, and the other based primarily on personal observations. Sadly, it is the former that has carried the day. As in the cases of Vietnam and Cuba, the American press—with such notable exceptions as the *Washington Post*, which has published conflicting accounts—has selectively reproduced images of Mozambique that bear little relationship to reality.

These biased and distorted representations support Mozambique's contention that a carefully orchestrated propaganda campaign is being waged against it.

Allen Isaacman is presently in Mozambique as an associate at the University of Eduardo Mondlane.

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Alvah Bessie

Considered opinion

A petty pleasure of growing old



For those who will not cease from fighting for a rational world society instead of settling for what we've got, one of the petty pleasures of growing old is to outlive our enemies: Mussolini and Hitler and Franco—and even lesser devils like Herbert Hoover who presided over our greatest Depression (to date) and sicced the troops on the Bonus Marchers, and MacArthur and Eisenhower, who commanded those troops.

Then there was Harry Truman whose loyalty oaths made life hideous for multitudes, and whose atom bomb had made it impossible for the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. How many perished in the atomic fire? "Authorities" differ: anywhere from 80,000 to 200,000 in the first; 39,000 to 74,000 in the second, not counting those who have agonized and died from radiation sickness since 1945.

On a somewhat higher level is the joy of watching those who were really subversive of human decency and American democracy get their come-uppance *before* they die: pigs like J. Parnell Thomas who chaired the House UnAmerican Committee and wound up in the clink even before the Hollywood Ten, whom he had stuck with contempt of Congress.

It was delicious to contemplate the job Danbury's Federal Correctional Institution gave the man (was there an underground red at work?): he cleaned the chicken coops! And he displayed his true morality by stooling on prison guards who pocketed a couple of eggs on their way home.

Jailed for putting his relatives on the fed-

eral payroll—who kicked back their salaries to Thomas—he was pardoned by Harry Truman as one of his last acts in office. So, he did not serve his four-year term and the felony he committed was expunged—just as Gerald Ford pardoned Nixon for "any crimes he *might* have committed"—and Thomas went to his grave without a record. No matter; he blew it—and in double-time.

So did Joe McCarthy, the Wisconsin Windbag who terrorized thousands of decent people and had hundreds ostracized. He got too big for his pants and attacked our sacred cow, the Army of the U.S., was cashiered by his peers and drank himself to death.

Then there was the ineffable (farting-and-belching-in-public) Lyndon Johnson who stole the election that put him in the Senate and expanded the Vietnam war he had promised to end, and was ultimately forced out of office; just as Nixon was exposed after too many years during which too many people despaired of ever demonstrating to the American electorate what kind of thing they had elevated to the highest office in the land.

He screwed himself (like his Spiro Agnew) through egomania, arrogance and contempt for the very people he suckered into making him their "President." And there are all the Watergate "pranksters" starting with John Mitchell and scarcely ending with Erlichman and Haldeman. It was poetic (or was it dialectical?) justice to see these crooks jailed. They deserved far

more than the minimal sentences they are serving under country-club conditions—and how does it happen that so very often you can scratch a flag-waving law'n'order reactionary, and you find a blatant crook?

Their unindicted co-conspirator, however, continues to live like the king he was when he had musical comedy uniforms designed for the White House guard and ordered a fanfare of trumpets for his occasional appearances before the commoners. This may be maddening to many but one must cultivate the long view.

Causes vindicated.

The greatest gratification for aging democrats and assorted radicals is to live long enough to see the individuals and causes for which they fought, sacrificed time, money and reputation, suffered vilification, jail, physical violence and often death—causes which were lost—to see these causes and individuals finally vindicated.

Only this year the last living Scottsboro "Boy" was pardoned for a crime neither he nor his eight fellow-victims committed. Accused back in 1931 of raping two young white women in a coal-car in Alabama, they were condemned for being black and sentenced to die—but people fought and the "Boys" survived, for a time.

No pardons have been granted by the State of Massachusetts for the legally-murdered Niccolo Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti. They have been dead since 1927, seven years after their arrest for a robbery and murder of which they were innocent.

They were condemned for being anarchists—and alien anarchists at that.

However, Gov. Dukakis of Massachusetts did issue a Proclamation declaring August 23 a "memorial" day for the "good shoe-maker and the poor fish-peddler" who were electrocuted on that day—50 years ago. The Governor said their trial had not been fair, but he would not issue a pardon because it would imply that the men had been guilty. Sacco's grandson and Vanzetti's aged sister in Italy received copies of the document. A Pyrrhic victory.

It will not be too long now before it is officially acknowledged, what some of us have known for decades: that Alger Hiss was framed by Nixon, the FBI and the psychopath Whittaker Chambers; that Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were done to death because the Cold War, conducted by Nixon's boss, required "Soviet spies" in 1950 and so created them. And the Spanish Civil War, the "last pure cause," lost 38 years ago, is being won today, step by painful step.

So it will not much matter that Tricky Dick and some of his slimy pals have beat the rap and turned defeat into "victory"—i.e., money—by religious conversion (sic), books, novels, film-scripts, lecture tours and television shows. No decent citizen will give any of them the time of day, nor will they even laugh all the way to the bank. That is the privilege of mere phonies; not of felons.

Alvah Bessie, a screenwriter, is one of the Hollywood 10 and author of Men in Battle, a book about the Spanish Civil War.

Roberta Lynch

Strong negatives in the decline of liberalism in the U.S.



The right is making a lot of news these days. The forces of reaction are, of course, nothing new. They have a long and dishonorable tradition in American history. What is new is the extent to which they are increasingly tolerated—and even used—by mainstream institutions, the extent to which they are winning new people to their ranks, and the extent to which they have created or capitalized on issues that have latent mass appeal.

It is disturbing. And equally disturbing is the extent to which their views are mirrored in state and national legislatures.

Maybe the state in which I live—Illinois—is unusual. But from what I read of the national press, I doubt it. Let me cite a few events over the last year that give cause for concern.

Last summer in Chicago a small group of blacks began leading open housing marches into a white neighborhood. In the temporary culmination of their efforts, a march of about 150 blacks and white supporters was met by over 3,000 rock and bottle-throwing whites.

At about the same time, the American Nazi party opened headquarters in that same area of the city and began going door-to-door to recruit supporters and spread its venom.

As the pressure for integration of the Chicago school system grows, the fear of busing grows. And an opposition movement has developed before a busing order is even issued. In one largely white neighborhood, there was an anti-busing meeting of over 700 people. A one-day boycott of the schools that it called was over 90 percent effective.

Politicians support rightists.

Politicians cater to these trends. After the recent riots in the Latino area of Chicago in which police killed two men, 40 Puerto Rican community leaders of various backgrounds went downtown to meet with

Mayor Bilandic. He made them wait for three hours in his office. When he finally met with them, he barely acknowledged the seriousness of their community's grievances.

It was only a week or so later that several hundred anti-busing demonstrators showed up to picket at City Hall. Bilandic left another meeting and immediately rushed over to meet with them. He assured the group that he shared their concerns and felt that they had a legitimate reason to protest.

Meanwhile, Illinois is the only northern state that has not ratified the ERA. This is Phyllis Schlafly's home turf and she is making the most of it. Her Stop ERA/Eagle's Forum has been active in lobbying, marching, and organizing against the amendment.

Schafly and company showed up by the hundreds at the recent International Women's Year conference in Illinois—as right-wingers have done at IWY meetings across the country. They have targeted the workshops on reproductive freedom, sexual preference, and the ERA.

These three issues—ERA, anti-abortion and sexual preference—are key targets on the right. On the abortion fight they have found a powerful ally in the Catholic church. The fruits of their efforts can be seen in the Hyde amendment that is speeding its way through Congress and its judicial counterpart—the recent Supreme Court decision that states have the right to refuse to fund abortions for Medicaid recipients.

Now the issue of gay rights has broken wide open, and the right is once again playing a role in catalyzing and focusing fears and prejudices.

Affirmative action.

Affirmative action has long been a thorn in the side of the right. But with the increasingly conservative bent of the judiciary, right-wingers are beginning to

come into their own in this area. In one of the strongest blows yet to minority aspirations for equal educational opportunities, the California Supreme Court ruled against special admission for minorities.

In opposing affirmative action the right is able to spark deep-seated resentments within some white working people who often feel that they have lost out on a job or promotional opportunity, or that their children were denied a scholarship or college admission. They blame it on the "privileges" being given to blacks. And those in power try to foster this sense of competition and resentment.

The callousness toward the needs of minorities that the right fosters is reinforced by the massive scapegoating of welfare as the current cause of high taxes. Again white working people are encouraged to blame their economic difficulties on blacks—in this case welfare recipients.

Hysterical press coverage of welfare fraud has contributed to reductions in already inadequate welfare appropriations. The Illinois state legislature recently "estimated" that there is 10 percent fraud in welfare administration and promptly proceeded to slash 10 percent from its meager welfare budget.

Of course, all these trends can't be attributed directly to some dark right-wing conspiracy. But they are intimately related to the growth and legitimization of right-wing ideology.

Strong negatives.

A number of left analysts have pointed to the vacuum being created by the decline of liberalism in America. The positive points for this development have been made. But there are some strong negatives that need to be faced as well.

Those who say that the present period offers opportunities for change that could be grasped by either the right or the left miss a critical point: In America the right

is far more organized, well-financed, and legitimate than the left.

To say that the right is moving to build on the discontent and frustration that people feel is not the same as saying that it creates those feelings. But it is to say that there are warring traditions in America. There is the too-often ignored egalitarian and democratic heritage that plays a vital role in sparking progressive mass movements. But there is another side as well. And those who want to acknowledge only the democratic heritage in analyzing our country are dangerously blind to other impulses in the national character. They miss the potency of racism, the fear of homosexuality as an assault on fragile sex roles, the deep-rooted violence toward and even hatred of women by men.

These are some of the traditions that the right seeks to build on—and that have undeniably provided a base for it. The issue is not whether the right responds to real frustrations of people who do not now identify as right-wingers. Of course it does. The real issue—as the left has said often enough—is what ideology can be developed to give a political direction to those inchoate attitudes.

And the sorry answer is that the right has been building a base for its own ideology on the back of the kind of issues I've described.

The left, then, has an even more difficult task in the face of this right-wing offensive. We need to join in the efforts for such vital reforms as the ERA and gay rights—seeking to broaden the forces that are involved. At the same time, as emptiness of traditional liberal solutions becomes increasingly clear to people, we need to clarify and popularize an alternative program and vision that draws on the best American traditions and points us toward a socialist future.

Roberta Lynch's column appears regularly.

IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

American labor entering a new era

Labor Day 1977, the centenary of the great railways workers' rising that ushered in modern American capital/labor relations, is a good time to reflect on the American labor movement's past and future, and what that implies for the nation as a whole.

The American labor movement has traversed two great eras since the 1870s and is now on the verge of entering a third.

The first era, roughly from the 1870s through the 1890s, corresponded with the formation of the modern industrial working class in the U.S. In that period the labor movement was marked predominantly by ideological resistance to the wages system and by commitment to a government and society of, by, and for the working people by abolishing the industrial capitalist system. Though conventional historians refer to that era as one of "reform unionism" and utopianism, the outlook of the American labor movement then corresponded to the socialist working class movements in Europe and Britain.

The second era, roughly from 1900 to 1970, corresponds to the rise and development of corporate-capitalism in the U.S. This was the Gompers era and though it was divided into periods of craft organization up to the 1930s, and of industrial organization since, the trade unions throughout predominantly embraced Gompers' fundamental principle of acquiescence in capitalism and the pursuit of "more now" within it. But it is a mistake to think that the "pure and simple" unionism of the Gompers era was apolitical. In the craft-union period before the New Deal, trade union politics sought legislative objectives that were largely negative: exemption of unions from anti-trust and anti-boycott laws, limitations on the work-day, elimination of child labor, protection of working women, compensation for injury and death on the job.

With the rise of industrial unionism in the 1930s more positive reforms were put on labor's legislative agenda: measures making the government the guarantor of collective bargaining, social security, and fair labor standards, through a comprehensive legal framework; later, government support of the private investment system to bolster employment, stimulate housing construction, and broaden educational opportunities.

In general, trade union politics throughout the Gompers era were oriented to creating a legal environment protective of trade union interest-group activity in pursuit of job security and better wages and working conditions. The objective in governmental affairs was legislation and executive action favorable to collective bargaining and other working class interests without interfering with the capitalists' control over the investment system as such or over fundamental policy.

The viability of the Gompers tradition rested on three key conditions:

- The effectiveness of the collective bargaining framework in delivering rising standards of living and better working conditions.

- The confinement of trade union consciousness and activity largely to the private sector and mostly among blue-collar workers.

- Corporate-imperial expansion abroad to make more jobs at home by extending the sphere of markets and investment.

Recent changes.

These conditions pertain with less and less force in the 1970s.

- First, even union members' standard of living increasingly depends on factors outside the collective bargaining framework: inflation, taxes, job creation, housing, education, transportation, ecology, health care, retirement.



- Second, with proletarianization climbing the status and function ladder, trade unionism has spread to workers in the public sector, white as well as blue collar. This has added new dimensions to trade union interests.

- Third, corporate expansion abroad is displacing jobs at home, undermining wage and pension levels, and diminishing public revenues available for public services and for wage payments to public employees.

In short, with unions that now encompass blue and white collar, private and public sector workers, with collective bargaining less able to protect workers' immediate material interests, and with capitalism no longer expanding in the old ways, so that workers' real income is declining while unemployment remains chronically high, the "pure and simple" unionism of the Gompers era has played itself out. To secure their own power or protect their own members' immediate interests, the unions must now contest against the capitalists and the corporate-liberals for control over the investment system as such, and over public policy. This crucial difference is generating the forces driving the American labor movement beyond the Gompers second era to a new politics, a third era, moving against corporate power and toward socialism, whatever name may be given to it.

At a crossroads.

Working class loyalty to capitalism was rooted in the promise that capitalism's development would bring steady progress and equal opportunity. That this promise

is less and less credible lies at the heart of the new conditions pushing the labor movement beyond the Gompers tradition.

Reluctantly, painfully, perhaps grudgingly, but not altogether unconsciously, many among labor's leadership, older as well as younger, and among significant segments of labor's rank and file, are acknowledging these new conditions and their arrival at a crossroads in American history. They are scouting their way to the new departure, some enthusiastically.

New signs.

There are many signs of labor taking the road to the left. Since 1971 even the old AFL-CIO leadership under Meany have found themselves obliged to call for the expansion of the public sector, full employment public planning, a national health system, public controls on private investment and profit, Congressional challenge of executive economic management, taxation and public spending hostile to corporate interests, and stringent restrictions upon or an end to corporate strategies of overseas expansion.

More recently, the labor movement with impetus especially from a group of newer leaders, has pushed specifically for passage of the Hawkins/Humphrey full employment planning bill. But perhaps the biggest straw in the wind is the AFL-CIO's establishment of its Labor Law Reform Task Force.

A new politics.

The Task Force's significance lies not simply in its law reform program (see *ITT*, Aug. 24), which is designed to facilitate a

new organizing drive, especially in the South and among white-collar workers. It lies also in the Task Force's strategy of forging a political coalition beyond trade union or conventional party politics—a coalition with women's, black, Hispanic, and progressive organizations that may endure beyond the law reform campaign and carry American labor farther into its third era. As we have noted in previous editorials, labor's current situation requires that it forge alliances to the left. That alliance is beginning to take shape. The Task Force has declared its intent to establish the labor movement as the champion of all working people, of all the deprived and oppressed, and not merely of its own special interests. That intent flows from labor's recognition that its "special" interests can no longer be separate from the working class' general interests.

In pursuit of this general interest, as the labor movement must orient itself increasingly to contesting for control over state power as well as over the investment system at large, it is finding that it can not depend on a Democratic president and a Democratic Congress to achieve its objectives. President Carter and the present Congress have been good teachers in this respect. The labor movement and its allies will have to project new political leadership to the positions of elected office, a leadership increasingly from their own ranks, determined to fight corporate power, and responsible to the needs of their constituents.

In the ensuing struggles, the trade unions will have to become more sensitive to the concerns of its potential allies—to those of blacks, Hispanics, women, to those of environmental, anti-military, and other left and progressive groups—if a labor-centered coalition is to succeed. Those groups in turn will have to shape their programs more clearly to working class needs if they are to move side by side with the labor movement against their common corporate enemy. And unless they move side by side the corporate enemy will prevail, as it has in recent times while labor and its potential allies have remained divided against one another.

We make these observations on this labor day of 1977 not to evoke a pollyanna-style optimism or wishful thinking. Labor's old guard is still a formidable obstacle to realizing the potential. Trade union patterns of racism and sexism, of national chauvinism and narrow-minded economism, of old party loyalties and still older antagonisms to socialism, may all conspire to drive labor back to the Gompers tradition and the country with it onto the crossroad to the right. We make these observations, rather, to suggest the need for a greater historical consciousness of the new conditions making possible the taking of the road to the left, and of the forces already gathering that have the capacity, the will, and the need to take that road.

Our intent is that socialists, with such an historical awareness, may recognize that road as theirs, join with the people ready to march and help bring many more into its ranks.

The American labor movement stands at the threshold of its third great era—one that "synthesizes" the first era of opposition to capitalism and the second era of strong trade unions engaged in mainstream politics. American socialists and leftists resolving on this labor day to work toward the liquidation of the second and the inauguration of the third era in labor's history, might mark the centenary year of 1977 as the beginning also of a new era in American history—the era of the struggle for a socialist democracy. ■

DIALOG

Continued from page 21.

be. They say I mislead by concentrating on the "danger of war among Capitalist powers," whereas I should concentrate on the "wider counter-revolutionary role of the U.S. and its allies." There is no explicit criteria for that judgement. If the criteria are to be which of these is more significant to the development of a third or left alternative in American politics it is the possibility of war among the industrial states.

They also say that I mislead with respect to current policy options, that I am advocating that Americans join the CFR "to build a united front of industrialized capitalist countries" for a new world order out of fear that inter-industrial nation war will otherwise result. I have not advocated any policy in the review. Indeed one of my key points would be that we cannot frame any realizable left alternative policy for the future unless we get an accurate picture of what happened in the past and what is happening in the present.

This in turn involves an understanding of current American politics and especially a knowledge of the issues that are of concern to the American people.

—Carl Parrini
DeKalb, Ill.

The anti-B-1 campaign: There was more to it than the ITT story told

We were disappointed with *ITT's* coverage of the Stop the B-1 Bomber: National Peace Conversion Campaign. To be sure, Carter's decision to stop B-1 production while moving ahead with cheaper but more dangerous cruise missiles was not a clear-cut victory for the left. But as an "independent socialist newspaper," *ITT* has, we believe, an obligation to report fully and accurately on serious movements for social change—their goals, tactics, accomplishments and weaknesses.

For nearly four years considerable money and effort were expended in the B-1/Conversion campaign, initiated by Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC) and American Friends Service Committee (AFSC). By the end, the network included more than 1,000 local organizers, some 50 offices affiliated with the campaign throughout the country, and 50 full-time staff. The Washington, D.C., lobbying office brought together a coalition of 34 church, labor, and environmental groups. B-1 activists included liberals, pacifists, and a substantial and influential contingent of socialists.

For most of these people stopping the B-1 was not an end in itself. Rather, it was an "action handle," an issue people could be mobilized around through a grass-roots educational campaign about the connection between militarism and corporations and the need to restructure the economy so that decisions are made on the basis of human needs, not private profit and military power.

Evaluation of the campaign must be made on the basis of its own goals, which, besides stopping the B-1, included exposing and challenging the role of corporations and the military and raising the need for "peace conversion."

Through study-action groups, slide show presentations, leaflets and demonstrations, tens of thousands of people were reached with an analysis of the military industrial complex and the need for radical change in the economic system. They were also motivated to take action,

ranging from writing letters to Congress or the President to involvement in organizing demonstrations. One particularly effective tactic was organizing peace conversion fairs and human security forums, community gatherings where local groups of all kinds came together to inform people about their programs and describe how they could make use of money from their communities that would be spent on the B-1 to meet human needs instead.

While Congressional debate and coverage in the major media were mostly limited to the military arguments, B-1 activists counterposed the real interests of the American people to the profit motive of the plane's contractors. Picking up on the campaign's themes, a nationwide AFSCME ad campaign pictured the bomber with the caption, "One of these could educate every kid in Cincinnati," and many newspapers editorialized against the B-1 as an example of misplaced priorities. According to CALC's Kay Halvorsen, in Minnesota (where she works) "people weren't arguing in military terms. They were talking about social needs versus the B-1, the American people versus Rockwell."

Rockwell International, a major weapons contractor and important link in the Mellon financial group, was the main focus of the campaign's anti-corporate work. Rockwell was presented as typical of the corporate system. Abstract generalizations about corporate capitalism were made real as the campaign described the efforts of Rockwell and its allies in the Pentagon and the powerful defense lobby (American Security Council, Air Force Association, etc.) to win approval of the bomber.

The B-1 Campaign began to explode the myth that "military spending is good for the economy." Research showing that military spending creates relatively few jobs and is inflationary was widely publicized. The fact that only a handful of states stood to receive more money in B-1 contracts than they would pay out in taxes for the plane was particularly important, since Rockwell placed sub-contracts in 47 of the 50 states in an effort to influence votes in Congress.

The campaign posed a real threat to Rockwell, which set up "Operation Common Sense" to keep tabs on it early on. By the time of Carter's decision, even *Newsweek* and *UPI* were detailing the corporation's lobbying efforts.

Campaign workers were not surprised that the plane's cancellation brightened prospects for other weapons producers—that fit the campaign's analysis and strengthened the resolve to press for more basic changes. B-1 campaign veterans will play an important role in the Mobilization for Survival and other future organizing efforts against militarism.

How socialists can be involved in mass organizing is a key question for the American left. We believe that through involvement in the B-1 campaign we learned much about how to integrate education and action. The people of this country are open to an analysis that makes sense. While it is important not to exaggerate our successes, it is also important to recognize victories, however limited.

—Stefan Ostrach
—Marion Barnes
Eugene, Ore.

Answers to last week's puzzle:

1. B. O. S. S. S. H. I. P. P. A. N.
2. F. O. R. E. L. A. M. E. A. L. A. E.
3. F. R. A. N. C. E. S. P. E. R. K. I. N. S.
4. Y. E. N. H. E. P. L. I. E. K. T. S.
5. L. A. B. O. R. C. A. D. A. G. N. E. S.
6. A. M. I. R. O. A. R. P. R. O.
7. W. Y. O. M. I. N. G. C. A. R. A. W. A. Y.
8. A. D. E. R. W. R. Y. W. E. R. E.
9. B. E. L. L. A. G. R. A. Y. K. E. E. P. S.
10. U. N. A. P. R. A. Y. F. A. V. O. R.
11. S. T. Y. C. I. A. M. I. L. I. T. A. R. Y.
12. R. E. B. E. C. C. A. L. F. E. L. T. O. N.
13. B. R. A. T. S. P. E. E. Y. A. L. E.
14. E. S. S. E. R. O. S. S. E. Y. E. S.

David Mermelstein is on vacation. His puzzle will be back next week, we hope.

OBITUARY

John Howard Lawson

John Howard Lawson, who died in San Francisco on Aug. 11, was the first of the Hollywood Ten to take the stand in the most famous of the House Committee on Un-American Activities' hearings on the motion picture industry (October 1947) and to deny its right to question an individual's political or trade union affiliations.

Lawson called the probe an "illegal attempt to establish a political dictatorship over the motion picture industry," and warned that "if I can be destroyed, no American is safe. You can subpoena a farmer in the field, a lumberjack in the woods, a worker at the machine, a doctor in his office—you can deprive them of their livelihood, deprive them of their honor as Americans.... No [one] will be safe if the committee is not stopped in its illegal enterprise."

Within months after the Ten lost their last appeal and went to jail for contempt of Congress (in 1950), the process Lawson described had begun. First came the subpoenaing of other Hollywood professionals; then lawyers and doctors, trade unionists and teachers, editors, poets, dancers, office workers and members of the PTA.

No one but the Ten served time because the Fifth Amendment turned out to be "jail proof" as the First was not. But personal lives and careers of hundreds—perhaps thousands—were ruined. The effect on popular culture in the U.S. was what the Ten had predicted it would be: effective political censorship without the need to pass explicit and embarrassing legislation.

At the time of the 1947 hearings, Lawson was the most prominent "known Communist" in Hollywood. Although he did not declare his membership, he never denied it and played a public role that gained him the reputation of being the leader of the party's cadre in the film capital.

He was a founder and first president

of the Screen Writers Guild. He served on the executive boards of most of the united front organizations of the '40s and '50s: the League against War and Fascism, the Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions (HICCASP), the League of American Writers, and the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization in support of the war effort.

Lawson's radicalization began soon after the first World War, in which he served overseas as an ambulance driver. Activity in the Sacco-Vanzetti case in the late '20s was the cause of his first political arrest. Defense of the Scottsboro (Alabama) Boys in the '30s caused the second. During these two decades he participated in the founding of the New York New Playwrights theatre and wrote nine plays, of which *Success Story* and *Processional* were the most successful.

As a film writer in Hollywood, Lawson did many screen plays, including *Blockade* (a film about the Spanish Civil War), *Action in the North Atlantic*, and *Counterattack*, the screen adaptation of a play about the Red Army, starring Paul Muni.

A more lasting contribution to American culture was Lawson's classic text, *The Theory and Practice of Playwriting and (later) Screenwriting*. Even during the period of his proscription as a creative artist, this book was widely used and influenced generations of student writers. Two other books, *Film: the Creative Process* and *The Hidden Heritage* were published during the years when he was blacklisted.

Lawson probably sold scripts on the black market during that time, but certainly he did not regain the right to have his name appear on the screen. He was, he said, "much more blacklisted than the others." And by the time the ban was lifted, he was too ill to take advantage of the change.

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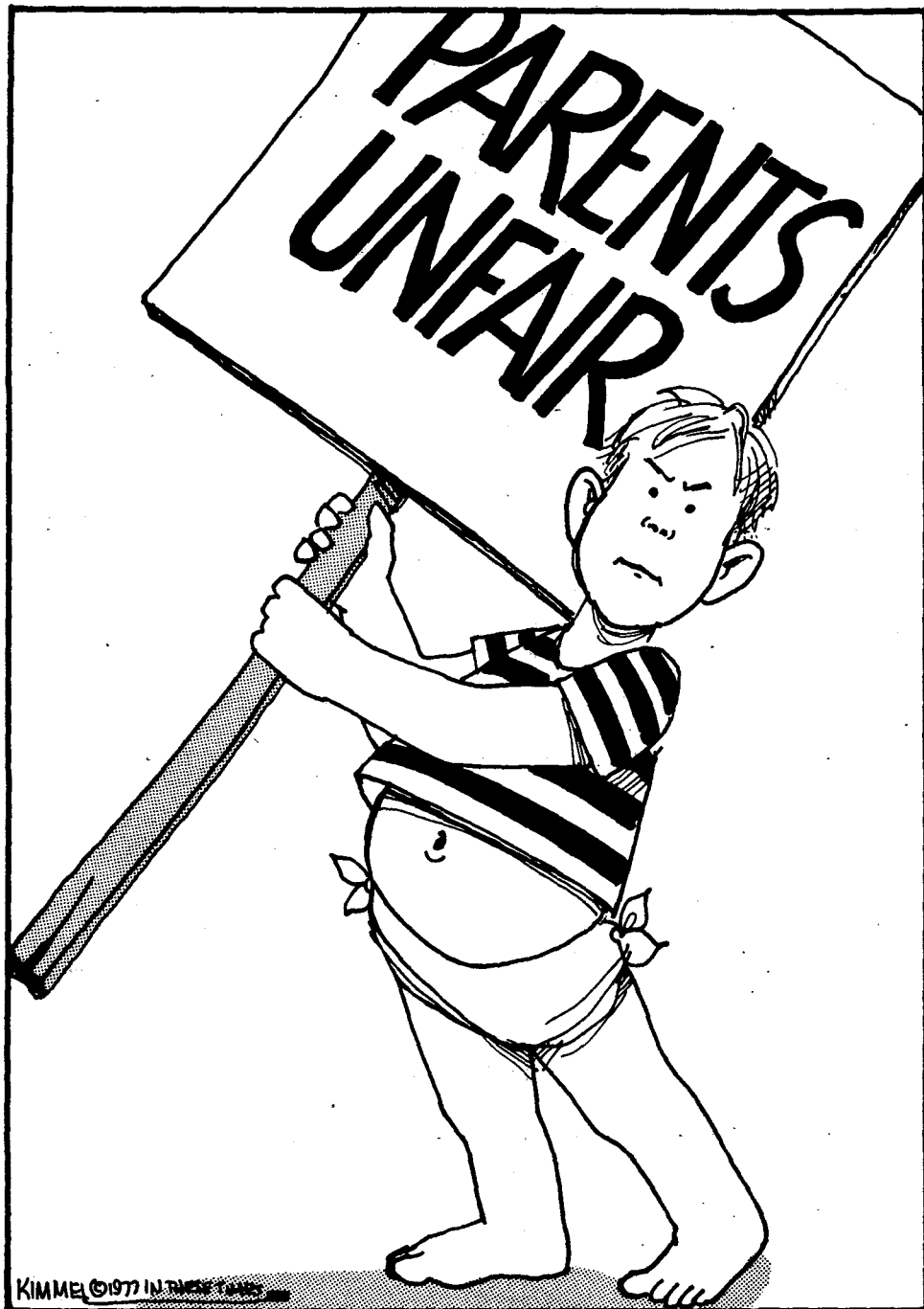
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John

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liberate

Do kids have rights?



What goes on between parent and child should not be a power relationship, but one of benevolent nurturance, where kids are given as many choices as they can handle.

By Connie Bruck
Pacific News Service

A 15-year-old girl in Washington asks a juvenile court to declare her "incorrigible" and place her in a foster home of her choice. She and her parents have been feuding—over whom she dates, whether or not she may smoke—and she considers these differences irreconcilable.

The judge, apparently concerned that she might otherwise run away from home, grants her request. His decision, appealed by the parents, is upheld by the Supreme Court.

In Massachusetts, a number of pregnant teenagers join as unnamed plaintiffs in a suit attacking the constitutionality of a state statute which requires a minor desiring an abortion to gain the consent of both parents or a court order. The case will be heard by the U.S. Supreme Court in the fall.

And in California—in a case that will soon come before the state Supreme Court—a 14-year-old youth challenges the law that allows a parent to commit a child to a mental hospital without any hearing.

Children have rights too.

Across the country, youth advocates are declaring that children, too, have their inalienable rights, which cannot be infringed upon—whether by state, school system, or even their own parents. This last claim, however, raises the most difficult and unique issue this far in children's rights, and underscores how this movement differs significantly from earlier liberation movements.

"We're not saying that an eight-year-old should be able to determine his or her own destiny," says attorney Pauline Tessler, of the Youth Law Center in San Francisco. "But what goes on between parent and child should not be a power relationship but one of benevolent nurturance, where kids are given as many choices as they can handle. Now that's the ideal, and there's no way to legislate it—but the most blatant kinds of abuses must be dealt with."

The key question, of course, is what constitutes an abuse of parental authority.

Parents have their rights, too, and their prerogative to raise their children as they see fit has always been protected; the family's autonomy zealously guarded against intrusion by the state.

Apart from cases of severe child abuse, what warp of parental power really justifies intervention into an intact family?

Should parents and kids start drawing up contracts to regulate the minutiae of family life? Will lawyers routinely be brought into family quarrels? Some youth advocates have even suggested that the next frontier for children's litigation might well be tonsillectomies, special schools, even summer camps.

"People who are against children's rights always invoke this outrageous, absolutely incorrigible spoiled brat who just says to hell with you whenever his parents ask him to do anything—and they're afraid that this sort of individual is now going to have power," says Peter Bull, attorney at Legal Services for Children in San Francisco. "But the fact is that it's very unusual for a child to want to confront a parent—children mature gradually, and until a certain point, they want to be dependent."

Custody most active area.

The most active area of children's legal representation is custody battles—where the family unit is already breaking up, and the judicial mechanism is in gear. Echoing a growing trend across the country in the last year or so, the California legislature in January gave courts the discretionary power to appoint attorneys for children in custody battles.

Says Jonathan Weiss, attorney at Legal Services for the Elderly Poor in New York, "There's no longer any question that when you have kids in front of Solomon's wisdom, they need an attorney to keep themselves whole."

"There's something very therapeutic, too, about having a lawyer for a poor person, an oppressed person, and as a consequence for a child," Weiss adds. "A child is always told, 'Do this,' 'do that'; nobody says 'I'm your agent, you're the principal, what you want I will do. Articulate your grievance, and I'll try to make it work through the system.'"

Consider, for example, the case of Alice, who was 13 when her parents decided to divorce, about two years ago.

Alice's natural mother had died when she was four, and her father remarried two years later; but his new wife never bothered to go through formal adoption proceedings.

Alice desperately wanted to go live with the woman who had been mother to her for almost as long as she could remember; but the court ruled that as neither natural nor adoptive mother, she had no legal standing in the case, and awarded custody to the natural father.

Alice confided her troubles to her teacher, who in turn told the story to a lawyer friend, Liz Cole, then practicing in San Jose, Calif.

"It really made me mad," Cole recalled, "so I mouthed off about how the kid should have some rights—it just wasn't fair. I said that while I could see how the mother had no standing, I thought the child ought to. Next thing I know, I get a call from Alice—wanting to hire me as her lawyer."

Much to her surprise, Cole did manage to get the case reopened, with standing for Alice—and the two adversaries, father and daughter, began preparing with their respective attorneys for their day in court. But then, the day before the court date, Alice's father decided to grant his ex-wife custody rather than go through the trauma of a court battle against his daughter.

Victory not simple.

Today, Alice is proud of having fought for her right to be heard, but she stresses that her victory was not a simple one. It was, after all, not some oppressive state law or school regimen that she prevailed over, but her father. Such triumphs are tempered.

"I do have a lot of guilt," Alice says quietly. "That's what I was afraid of, and it happened." Which is why, say many divorce attorneys, most kids do not want to make their voice audible, their preference explicit. The outright rejection of one parent is too hard.

"Until now," Alice declares, "you just took what you got if you were a kid—it's been like that forever, I guess. But it seems only common sense that kids should have as many rights, and be represented if they're in a bad situation. This isn't a question of kids marching and organizing—they can't anyway—it's just a matter of people having to think differently: like, that kids are people too."

For every courtroom or legislative victory, however, there have also been defeats—the latest, most resounding one being the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling that corporal punishment in the schools is *not* unconstitutional.

More states are granting children the right to representation in custody battles—but not one state mandates it.

Some states also grant minors the right to consent to their own abortions, but the U.S. Supreme Court may well allow some restrictions on that (such as the need for parental notice, if not consent) in the Massachusetts case, *Bellotti v. Baird*, to be heard this fall.

Although a number of lower courts all across the country have ruled that a parent may *not* commit a child to a mental hospital without any hearing, the U.S. Supreme Court recently refused to render a decision in a case it heard that presented that very issue—citing the plaintiffs' now overwhelming majority ages as rendering the case moot.

To attorney Gabe Kaimowitz of Michigan Legal Services in Detroit, progress in Children's rights seems slow indeed. "The U.S. Supreme Court has said in a number of decisions that the Fourteenth Amendment is 'not for adults alone'—but that doesn't mean that the Constitution is for children," Kaimowitz complains. "It means that they will decide inch by inch, case by case, circumstance by circumstance, whether this child is a person."

Connie Bruck is a Los Angeles writer.